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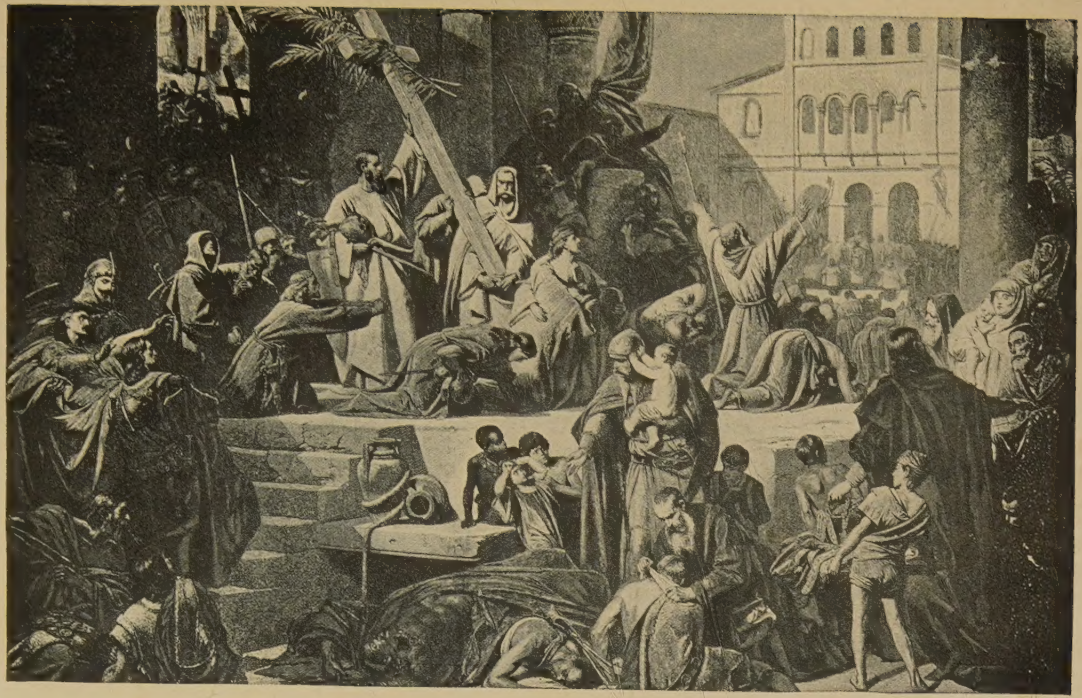

GODFREY OF BOUILLON ENTERS JERUSALEM 1099

From the Painting by Carl von Piloty

A GENERAL
HISTORY OF THE WORLD

By

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WITH A SUMMARY OF CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

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HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

FEUDALISM

Feudalism, or the Heredity of Offices and Fiefs.—We have just seen how the empire was divided into kingdoms. The kingdoms are about to dissolve into seigniories. The great political masses are crumbling into dust.

The officers of the king, of whatever rank, under the last Carlovingians asserted the heredity of their offices or public duties as well as of their fiefs or land-grants. Hence was formed a hierarchy of possessors, peculiar in this respect that every parcel of land was a fief of some lord above the tenant and that every lord was a vassal recognizing some suzerain. Naturally in this hierarchy the possessors or proprietors were unequal. Moreover, various concessions or exemptions had given these landed proprietors control of the public taxes and administration of the royal justice. Hence the king no longer was master of either lands or money or judicial rights. This system was called feudalism. It was first recognized by the edict of Kierry-sur-Oise (877), whereby Charles the Bald recognized the right of a son to inherit the fief or the office of his father.

One man became the vassal of another by the ceremony of homage and faith. That is to say, he declared himself the man of the new lord to whom he swore fidelity. The lord granted him the fief by investiture, often accompanied by some symbolic rite such as gift of a sod, a stone, or staff. Without mentioning the moral obligations of the vassal to defend and respect his lord, insure him deference from others, and aid him by good counsel, he was bound by certain material obliga-

tions. These were: (1) Military service, a fundamental principle of this society which was unacquainted with permanent salaried armies. The number of men to be furnished on requisition of the lord and the length of service varied according to the fief, here sixty days, there forty, elsewhere twenty. (2) Obligation to serve the suzerain in his court of justice and attend his sessions. (3) The aids or assistance, in some forms legal and obligatory, in others benevolent or voluntary. The legal assistance was due, when the lord was a prisoner and a ransom must be provided, when knighthood was conferred upon his eldest son, and when he gave his eldest daughter in marriage. Such assistance took the place of public taxes. Certain other services were required. These duties once rendered, the vassal became almost the master of his fief. He could enfeoff or let the whole or a part of it to vassals of inferior rank.

The suzerain also had his obligations. He could not arbitrarily and without sufficient cause deprive a vassal of his fief. He was bound to defend him if attacked and to treat him justly. Judgment by one's peers was the principle of feudal justice. The vassals of the same suzerain were equal among themselves. If the lord refused justice to his vassal, the latter could appeal to the superior suzerain. He even exercised at need the right of private war, a right of which the lords were very tenacious and which rendered feudalism a violent system, opposed to all pacific development of human society and injurious to commerce, agriculture, and industry. This same principle caused the admission into legal procedure of the judicial combat in closed lists. The Truce of God, which forbade private wars between Wednesday evening and Monday morning, was an effort on the part of the Church to moderate the violence which it could not entirely prevent.

Jurisdiction did not appertain to all lords in the same measure. In France three degrees were recognized, high, low, and intermediate. The first alone conferred the right of life and death. In general the largest fiefs possessed the most extensive jurisdiction. Among seigniorial rights we must note that of coining money, exer-

cised at the advent of Hugh Capet by not less than 150 lords. Moreover, within the limits of his own fief each made the law. The capitularies of Charles the Bald are the last manifestations of public legislative power. Thenceforward to the time of Philip Augustus general laws no longer existed in France, being superseded by local customs. The clergy itself entered this system. The bishop, formerly the "defender of the city," often became its count and hence the suzerain of all the lords of his diocese. Moreover the bishop or abbot, through donations made to his church or convent, received great possessions which he enfeoffed. This ecclesiastical feudalism became so powerful that in France and England it held more than one-fifth, and in Germany nearly one-third of all the land.

Below the warlike society of the lords was the toiling society of the villeins and serfs. The freemen had disappeared. The villeins, or free tenants, and the serfs cultivated the land for the lord under the shadow of the feudal keep around which they clustered, and which sometimes defended but more often oppressed them. The villein had only to pay his fixed rents like a farmer and to perform the least onerous forced labor. He could not be detached from the land which had been assigned him to cultivate, but he had the right to hold it as his own. As for the serfs, "The sire," says Pierre de Fontaine, "can take all that they have, can hold their bodies in prison whenever he pleases, and is forced to answer therefor only to God alone." In spite of this the condition of the serf was better than that of the slave in antiquity. He was regarded as a man. He had a family. The Church, which declared him a son of Adam, made him, before God at least, the equal of the proudest lords.

To sum up: the abandonment of every right to the lord, —such is the principle of feudal society. As royalty no longer fulfilled the office for which it was founded, protection could no longer be expected from either the law or the nominal head of the state, and was now demanded from the bishops, the barons, and powerful persons. It was the sword which afforded this protec-

tion. Hence arose those interminable wars which broke out everywhere in feudal Europe, and which through their inevitable results of murder and pillage were the scourge of the period.

Nevertheless many persons admire those days which pressed so heavily upon the poor. They admit that commerce and industry had fallen very low, that social life seemed to have returned to elementary conditions, that there was much outrage and little security, that, despite the exhortations of the Church, in this miserable intellectual state passions were more brutal than in our age and vices as numerous. But, they say, the serf of the soil was happier than the serf of modern industry; competition did not rob him of his meager pittance; setting aside the chances of private war and brigandage, he was more assured of the morrow than are our laborers; his needs were limited, like his desires; he lived and died under the shadow of his bell-tower, full of faith and resignation. All this is true. Yet nature has not made man a plant to vegetate in the forest or an animal to be led by his appetites.

On many points the Middle Ages were inferior to antiquity. As to a few they were in advance. They made many men miserable, but they provided many asylums in the monasteries. Under the beneficent influence of Christianity the family was reconstituted. Through the necessity of depending upon one's self the soul gained vigor. Those lovers of battle recovered the sentiments of courage and honor which the Romans of the decline no longer knew. Though the state was badly organized, there existed for the vassal strong legal maxims, which through a thousand violations have come down to us: no tax can be exacted without the consent of the taxpayers; no law is valid unless accepted by those who have to obey it; no sentence is legitimate unless rendered by the peers of the accused. Lastly, in the midst of this society which recognized no claims but those of blood, the Church by the system of election asserted those of intelligence. Furthermore, by its God-man upon the cross and its doctrine of human equality, it was to the great inequalities of earth a constant inti-

mation of what shall be carried into effect when the principle of religious law passes into civil law.

Great French, German, and Italian Fiefs.—The feudal organization, which was complete only at the end of the eleventh century, reigned in all the provinces of the Carlovingian empire. Yet the great names of France, Germany, and Italy survived, and great titles were borne by the so-called kings of those countries. Yet these were show kings, not real kings. They were mere symbols of the territorial unity which had vanished, and not genuine, active, powerful heads of nations. The Italian royalty disappeared early. The royalty of France fell very low. The crown of Germany, however, shed a brilliant light for two centuries after Otto I had restored the empire of Charlemagne. Yet the copy shrank in proportion as the model became more remote. Charlemagne reigned over fewer peoples than Constantine and Theodosius. The Ottos, the Henrys, the Fredericks, reigned over less territory than Charlemagne and their authority was less unquestioned.

The king of France possessed the duchy of France, which had become a royal domain. Inclosing this territory on every side between the Loire, the ocean, the Scheldt, the upper Meuse, and the Saône stretched vast principalities, whose princes rivaled him in wealth and power. These were the counties of Flanders, Anjou, and Champagne, and the duchies of Normandy and Burgundy. Between the Loire and the Pyrenees lay the ancient kingdom of Aquitaine, divided into the four dominant fiefs of the duchies of Aquitaine and Gascony and the counties of Toulouse and Barcelona. These great feudatories, immediate vassals of the crown, were called peers of the king. To these lay peers, six ecclesiastical peers were added: the archbishop-duke of Reims, the bishop-dukes of Laon and Langres, and the three bishop-counts of Beauvais, Chalôns, and Noyon. Among the secondary fiefs were reckoned not less than 100 counties and a still greater number of fiefs of inferior order. The kingdom of Arles included the three valleys of the Saône, Rhone, and Aar.

The nominal boundaries of the kingdom of Germany

were: on the west, the Meuse and Scheldt; on the northwest, the North Sea; on the north, the Eyder, the Baltic, and the little kingdom of Slavonia; on the east, the Oder and the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary; on the south, the Alps. It comprised nine main territorial divisions: the vast duchy of Saxony, Thuringia, Bohemia, Moravia, the duchies of Bavaria and Carinthia, Alemannia or Suabia, Franconia, and lastly Friesland on the shores of the North Sea.

The kingdom of Italy comprehended Lombardy, or the basin of the Po, with its great republics of Milan, Pavia, Venice, and Genoa; the duchy or marquisate of Tuscany, the States of the Church; also the four Norman states, the principalities of Capua and Aversa and of Tarentum, the duchy of Apulia and Calabria, and the grand county of Sicily.

In Christian Spain we find in the center the kingdom of Castile and Leon; in the west, the county of Portugal, dependent upon the crown of Castile; on the north and northeast, the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. In Great Britain are the kingdoms of England and Scotland and the principality of Wales. Between the North Sea and the Baltic are the three Scandinavian states of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Among the Slavs are the kingdoms of Slavonia on the Baltic, of Poland on the Vistula, the grand duchy of Russia with its multitude of divisions, and the duchy of Lithuania. In the year 1000 Pope Sylvester II sent a royal crown to Saint Stephen, who had just converted the Hungarians. Soon Christian Europe is to rush in the direction of the Eastern Empire, from which the Arabs have stripped Africa and Egypt and on whose provinces of Syria and Asia Minor the Turks are encamped.

Civilization from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century.—The revival of letters under Charlemagne did not survive him. Hincmar, the great bishop of Reims, the monk Gottschalk, advocate of predestination, and his adversary, Joannes Scotus Erigena, still agitated burning questions. After them silence and thick darkness covered the tenth century. The physical like the moral wretchedness was extreme. So miserable was the world

that mankind believed it would end in the year 1000. The future seeming so brief, buildings were no longer erected, and those existing were allowed to fall in ruin. After that fatal year was past, men began again to hope and live. Human activity awoke. Numerous churches were constructed. Sylvester II cast abroad in Europe the first intimation of the Crusade which was about to set the world in motion.

A literary movement awoke more powerful than that under Charlemagne. The vulgar tongues were already assuming their place at the side of the learned and universal ecclesiastical Latin. The latter was still employed in the convents, which rapidly multiplied. It continued as the medium of theology and of the grave discussions which began to resound. Lanfranc, abbot of Bec and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor, Saint Anselm, who composed the famous treatise of the *Monologium,* imparted fresh animation to the movement of ideas. The eleventh century had not closed when the fierce battle commenced between the realists and the nominalists in which Abelard took such brilliant part.

The vulgar tongues were as numerous as the newly formed nations. Teutonic idioms prevailed in Germany, the Scandinavian states, and England. In Italy arose Italian, destined to attain perfection before the others. In France was fashioned the Romance, already distinguished as the northern Romance or Walloon or language of *oïl,* and the southern Romance or Provençal or language of *oc,* which was also spoken in the valley of the Ebro.

The first literary use of the Romance was made by the poets of the time, the trouvères in the north, the troubadours in the south, and the jongleurs. The trouvère and troubadour invented and composed the poem which the jongleur recited. Sometimes the same person was both composer and reciter. They roamed from castle to castle, relieving by their songs the ennui of the manor. The trouvères generally composed chansons de gestes, epics of twenty, thirty, or fifty thousand verses. They treated the subjects in cycles according to the period represented. First was the Carlovin-

gian cycle with Charlemagne and his twelve peers as the heroes and the *Chanson de Roland* as its masterpiece. Then came the Armorican cycle with King Arthur, the champion of Breton independence, and the exploits of the knights of the Round Table. The principal poet of this theme is Robert Wace, with his *Roman de Brut*. To the third cycle belong all those ancient subjects which now take their place in popular poetry like a distant and confused prophecy of the Renaissance. These heroic lays are the poetry of feudalism and also of the chivalry which followed it.

The lords delighted in gathering their vassals around them. To some they confided services of honor as constable, marshal, seneschal, or chamberlain. The vassal brought his sons to the court of his suzerain, where as pages and esquires they were trained for knighthood. Into that exalted rank they were initiated by a ceremony, partly religious and partly military. The fast for twenty-four hours, the vigil, the bath, the accolade, the assumption of sword and spurs, were among its rites. To pray, to flee from sin, to defend the Church, the widow, the orphan, to protect the people, to make war honorably, to do battle for one's lady, to love one's lord, to pay heed to the wise,—such were the duties of the knight. The tournament was his diversion.

This new and original society not only produced scholasticism, the vulgar tongues, feudalism, and chivalry, but also made innovations in art. To the Roman architecture, indifferently called Byzantine or Lombard and distinguished by a rounded arch supported on columns, succeeded a pointed architecture, wrongly termed gothic. The pointed arch, an elementary and easier style than the rounded arch, belongs to all times and countries, but it was monopolized in the twelfth century and became the essential element in that new architecture which has imparted to mediæval cathedrals their imposing grandeur.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

Germany from 887 to 1056.—While France was calling to the throne her native lords, Eudes and Hugh Capet, Germany, on the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), elected Arnulf, the bastard son of Carloman and a descendant of Charlemagne. As heir of the Carlovingian claims this prince received the homage of the kings of France, Trans-Jurane Burgundy, Arles, and Italy. Finally he caused himself to be crowned king of Italy and emperor. Thereby he only gained an additional title. He repulsed several bands of Northmen and set against the Moravians the Hungarians, who were beginning to make as devastating raids through Europe as those of the northern pirates. With his son, Louis the Child, the German Carlovingian branch became extinct. Hence Germany began to choose sovereigns from different families, and election took root among German political customs at the very time when French royalty was becoming hereditary like the possession of a fief. Therefore the two royalties had a different experience in store. Conrad I was elected in 911. Under him began that conflict, which filled all the German Middle Ages, between the great feudatories and the Franconian emperor. He wished to weaken Saxony, the rival of Franconia, and to deprive it of Thuringia. Vanquished at Ehresburg by Duke Henry, he gained an advantage over the Duke of Lorraine whom he despoiled of Alsace, and over the governors of Suabia whom he beheaded.

After him the crown passed to the house of Saxony, where it remained for more than 100 years. Conrad on his deathbed had designated for his successor his former conqueror as the man most capable of defending Germany against the Hungarians. So Duke Henry was elected.

He brought order out of disorder and gave Germany definite boundaries. He forced every man above sixteen to bear arms and founded fortresses on the frontiers.

The great victory won by him near Merseburg (934) announced that the depredations of the Hungarians were near their end. His son, Otto I the Great, inflicted on them a decisive defeat at Augsburg (955), which compelled them to remain quiet in the country they still inhabit. The dukes of Franconia and Bavaria had rebelled and were supported by the French king, Louis IV. Otto defeated the rebels and penetrated France as far as Paris.

The restoration of the empire is the most important achievement of his reign. The last titular emperor, Beranger, had been assassinated. Otto wedded his queen, was proclaimed king of Italy at Milan, and crowned emperor at Rome (962). He undertook to maintain the donations made the Holy See by Charlemagne, the Romans promising not to elect a Pope except in the presence of the emperor's envoys. By a single blow he thus restored the empire to the benefit of the kings of Germany, and founded a German domination over Italy. The southern part of the Italian peninsula remained in the possession of the Greeks. To obtain this territory without combat he secured the hand of the Princess Theophania for his son Otto. His successors, Otto II, Otto III, and Henry II, were unable to retain the predominance which he had exercised. Under Otto III the tribune Crescentius tried to overturn the papal authority and restore the Roman republic. Under Henry II Italy gave to herself for a moment a national king.

In 1024 the imperial crown departed from the house of Saxony and entered that of Franconia. Conrad II compelled the king of Poland to recognize him as his suzerain, made prisoner the king of Bohemia, and reunited to the empire the two Burgundies. The convention which he signed with the aged king of Arles is invoked by German writers to-day, as a claim on behalf of the present German Empire to the two valleys of the Saône and Rhone. In Italy Conrad ruined the Italian system of feudalism by his edict of 1037, which declared that all fiefs depended directly from the prince. His son, Henry III (1039), was the one emperor whose authority was best assured in Germany and Italy. He

forced the king of Bohemia to pay tribute, restored to Alba, Royale, the banished king of Hungary, and received his homage. In Italy he dominated even the papacy.

The Monk Hildebrand.—A monk, the counselor of many Popes before he himself succeeded to the Holy See, proposed to deliver the papacy and Italy from German control. In 1059 Hildebrand caused a decree to be issued by Nicholas II, which announced that the election of the Popes should be made by the cardinal priests and cardinal bishops of the Roman territory; that the other clergy and the Roman people should then give their assent; that the emperor should retain the right of confirmation; and lastly, that in election a member of the Roman clergy should be preferred. Another decree forbade any ecclesiastic to receive the investiture of an ecclesiastical benefice from a layman. These decrees freed the Pope from dependence upon the emperor and placed all the temporal power of the Church in the hand of the pontiff thus emancipated.

Gregory VII and Henry IV (1073-1085).—In 1073 Hildebrand was elected Pope under the name of Gregory VII. The Pope was about to complete the work of the monk. His plans enlarged with his opportunity. Charlemagne and Otto the Great had rendered the Pope subordinate to themselves, and had placed the church within the state as the Greeks and Romans had done. But royalty, the central power, was declining throughout Europe because of the invading progress of the feudal system or the increasing local powers of the dukes, counts, and barons. The clergy, on the other hand, had beheld popular faith and confidence in the Church increase in that same century. Its leader decided that the moment had come for restoring to those charged with the salvation of the soul the influence necessary for imparting the best direction to civil society, and for repressing moral disorders, violations of justice, and all the causes of perdition. In a priest, such an ambition was great and legitimate. But had this attempt succeeded, the state in consequence would have been placed within the church. A sacerdotal autocracy would

have formed to prevent all movement in the world, in thought, science, and art.

Gregory VII desired four things. He wished to deliver the papal throne from German suzerainty; to reform the Church in its manners and discipline; to render it everywhere independent of the temporal power; and, lastly, to govern the laity, both peoples and kings, in the name and interest of their salvation. The first point was attained by the decree of Nicholas II and the refusal to submit the election of Popes to the imperial sanction. The second object was favored by many acts of Gregory VII for the reformation of the clergy and the abolition of simony. To accomplish the third, the non-clerical princes had been forbidden to bestow, and the clergy to receive from their hands, the investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice. The last was to be brought about by the pontiff's haughty interference in the government of kingdoms.

In the attempt to render the Church independent of the empire, there arose between the two the famous so-called quarrel of investitures.

During the minority of Henry IV, all sorts of disorders had invaded the German priesthood. Gregory, imputing these scandals to the unhappy selection of prelates, called upon Henry to renounce the bestowal of ecclesiastical dignities and to appear at Rome to justify himself for his private conduct. The emperor retorted by having Gregory deposed by twenty-four bishops in the Synod of Worms (1076). Thereupon the Pope launched against him a bull of excommunication and forfeiture. The Saxons and Suabians, traditional enemies of the Franconian house, executed this sentence in the Diet of Tribur, which suspended the emperor from his functions, and threatened him with deposition if he did not become reconciled to Rome. Henry yielded. He hurried to Italy and sought the Pope in the castle of Canossa on the lands of the Countess Matilda, who was an adherent of the Holy See. Barefoot in the snow he waited three days for an audience with the pontiff. He retired, absolved but furious, and opened war. The battle of Volkshein, where his rival, Rodolph of Suabia, was slain

by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine and bearer of the imperial standard, made him master of Germany (1080). He could then return to Italy in triumph. The Countess Matilda was despoiled of part of her possessions, Rome was captured, and the bishop of Ravenna was appointed Pope as Clement III. Gregory himself would have fallen into the hands of the man he had so condemned, if the Normans who had just conquered southern Italy had not come to his aid. He died among them, saying, " Because I have loved justice and chastised iniquity, therefore I die in exile " (1085).

Concordat of Worms (1122).—Henry IV was victor, but the Church roused his own son against him and he perished miserably. Nevertheless it was this parricidal son, Henry V, who put an end to the quarrel of investitures. The Concordat of Worms equably settled the dispute (1122). It assigned to the temporal sovereign, the emperor, the temporal investiture by the scepter, and to the spiritual sovereign, the Pope, the spiritual investiture by the cross and ring. The plan of Gregory VII had only half succeeded, for the bond of vassalage was still unbroken which bound the clergy to the prince. But in its members, if not in its head, the church remained within the state.

As chief of the empire this same Henry inherited the fiefs of Countess Matilda and as her nearest relative her allodial property. Thus he became possessor of all her rich estates. The nearest approach to feudal power in the peninsula was thus annihilated. But the Franconian dynasty became extinct with this emperor (1125). Despite all the efforts of this house to weaken the general feudal system in Germany by conceding direct dependence on the crown to a host of petty seigniories and by raising many towns to the rank of imperial cities, it had tolerated the existence of several powerful vassals, and above all of the Welfs, dukes of Bavaria, and of the Hohenstaufens, dukes of Suabia. Thus Lothaire II (1125-1138) bore himself humbly in the presence of these princes. He was no less humble before the Pope, who, when placing upon his head the imperial crown, claimed to confer it as a benefice.

The Hohenstaufens.—The house of Suabia ascended the throne with Conrad III. He obtained a firm footing by destroying the power of the Welfs through the spoliation of Henry the Proud, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His unfortunate part in the second crusade and his death soon after his return prevented the completion of his work. But his son, Frederick I, Barbarossa, caused the imperial power once more to appear with brilliancy in Italy. Instead of the feudal system, which no longer existed there, had arisen a medley of petty lordships and of cities organized into republics with their senates, consuls, and general assemblies. This political system extended even to Rome, whence Arnaldo de Brescia expelled Pope Innocent II (1141). Frederick speedily destroyed this beginning of Italian independence and burned Arnaldo at the stake. But by making his authority too evident he alienated the republics and the Pope himself, whom he had just restored. His despotic principles, enunciated at the Diet of Roncalia by the legal doctors of the Bolognese school, caused alarm. Milan revolted against his magistrates. He razed it to the ground and abandoned its ruins to the neighboring rival cities. Hardly had he returned to Germany, when the Lombard League was formed behind him. It was joined by Pope Alexander III, the Defender of Italian Liberty. Frederick, who marched hastily to destroy the coalition, was completely overthrown at Legnano (1176).

Seven years later the Treaty of Constance definitely regulated the quarrel between the empire and Italy, as the Concordat of Worms had regulated that between the empire and the papacy. The cities retained the rights which they had usurped. They could levy armies, protect themselves with fortifications, exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within their boundaries, and form confederations with one another. The emperor retained only the right of confirming their consuls by his legates and of placing a judge of appeals for certain causes in each city.

Barbarossa had not everywhere been so unsuccessful. The kings of Denmark and Poland acknowledged his suzerainty. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Ba-

varia, was deprived of his dominions. Foreign ambassadors attended the splendid diets convoked by the emperor, at the most celebrated of which, in Mayence, 40,000 knights appeared.

His son Henry succeeded (1190). As the husband of Constance, daughter and heiress of Roger II, king of Sicily, he established the house of Suabia in southern Italy. Thus an equivalent was gained for loss of authority in the north, and the Holy See was enveloped on all sides. Innocent III (1198-1216) resolved to avert this new danger. He had excommunicated the kings of France, Aragon, and Norway for transgression of the moral code, and had set another portion of Christendom again in motion by preaching the fourth crusade. When he beheld kings abase themselves before him and nations rise at his voice, the Pope naturally believed himself strong enough to humble the ambitious house which persistently cherished the memory of imperial supremacy over Rome. In Germany he supported Otto of Brunswick against Philip of Suabia, and the fierce struggle of the Guelphs, or partisans of the Church, against the Ghibellines, or partisans of the empire, began. Displeased with Otto, who when rid of his rival made the same claims upon Italy, Innocent turned again to the house of Suabia and caused the young Frederick II, son of Henry VI, to be recognized as emperor on condition of his abandoning the Two Sicilies. But this prince, a lover of art and letters and a man of easy character, retained those provinces where was his favorite residence. In his palaces at Naples, Messina, and Palermo, he and his chancellor, Pierre des Vignes, vigorously organized his Italian kingdom. To possess a constant defense against the thunders of the Church, he engaged an army of Saracens in his service.

The Pope beheld with affright the firm grip of this German upon Italy. In the south, Frederick held his Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In the center he enjoyed the possessions of the Countess Matilda. In the north his title of emperor conferred both influence and rights. To remove the obnoxious ruler to a distance, the Pope ordered him to take the cross. When Frederick hesi-

tated, he threatened him with an anathema if he did not fulfill the vow he had taken. Frederick set out on the crusade, but he did not fight. A treaty with the sultan of Egypt threw open to him the gates of the Holy City (1228). He crowned himself king of Jerusalem and then hastened to return. His absence had afforded Gregory IX, the energetic old man who then occupied the throne of Saint Peter, time to reorganize the Lombard League, to persuade the young prince Henry to rebel against his father, and to hurl an adventurer with an army upon the kingdom of Naples. Frederick overcame all his adversaries. The defeat of the Lombards at Corte Nuova seemed to place Italy at his feet.

The Pope alone did not yield. He issued a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, and offered the imperial crown to Robert of Artois, brother to the king of France. Louis IX refused this proffer to his family, and reproached the Pope with wishing "to trample all sovereigns together with the emperor under his feet." Gregory then sought the support of a council which he convoked in the church of Saint John Lateran. At Melloria the vessels of Frederick defeated the Genoese fleet, which was carrying the Fathers to the council, and two cardinals together with bishops and abbots were captured. Gregory died of grief. His successor, Innocent IV, escaped from Rome in disguise, assembled at Lyons a council which excommunicated Frederick II, and caused a crusade against him to be preached. When the tidings was told the emperor, he seized his crown, planted it more firmly on his head, and exclaimed, "It shall not fall until rivers of blood have flowed." He appealed to the sovereigns of Europe: "If I perish, you all perish." He hurled his Saracens upon central Italy while his ally, Eccelino de Romano, the tyrant of Padua, fought and butchered in the north. But the cities everywhere rose at the call of the priests and monks. From one end of the peninsula to the other, the Guelphs flew to arms in behalf of the Holy Father who for his own freedom needed that Italy also be free. In vain did Frederick humble himself. He offered to abdicate, to

go and die in the Holy Land, to divide his heritage on condition that it should be left to his children. Innocent remained immovable, and pursued the annihilation of "that race of vipers." The struggle was becoming still more envenomed when the emperor died suddenly (1250). His death heralded the fall of German domination in Italy and the beginning in the peninsula of a new period, that of independence.

THE CRUSADES IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST

The First Crusade in the East (1096-1099).—During the Middle Ages there were two worlds, that of the Gospel and that of the Koran, the one in the north and the other in the south. At their points of contact in Spain and toward Constantinople they had long been engaged in conflict. At the end of the eleventh century the two religions grappled, and their encounter is called the Crusades.

Mussulman Asia had passed from the power of the Arabs into that of the Seljuk Turks. Under Alp Arslan (1063) and Malek Shah (1075) they had conquered Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. At the death of Malek Shah his empire was divided into the sultanates of Syria, Persia, and Kerman, to which must be added that of Roum in Asia Minor. The empire of Constantinople, the bulwark of Christendom, had wavered at this new invasion. For a time it seemed hardly able to resist its enemies, despite the vigor it manifested under several emperors of the Macedonian and Comnenan dynasties and the victories it had gained over the Persians, Bulgarians, Russians, and Arabs.

At the very beginning of the century, Pope Sylvester II had suggested to the Western peoples the idea of delivering the Holy Sepulcher (1002). Pilgrimages became more frequent. Pilgrims by thousands visited the sacred places and on their return inflamed Europe with stories of outrages and cruelties endured from the Mussulmans. Gregory VII took up the project of Sylvester,

and Urban II put it into execution. At Piacenza he convened a council where ambassadors appeared from Constantinople. At a second council at Clermont in Auvergne, an innumerable multitude assembled. Supporting his own majestic eloquence by the popular eloquence of Peter the Hermit, who had just returned from the Holy Land, Urban carried the immense host captive. With the cry "God wills it!" each man fastened to his garments the red cross, the emblem of the crusade (1095). Peasants, villagers, old men, women, and children set out, pell-mell, under the lead of Peter the Hermit and of a petty noble, Walter the Penniless. Almost the whole multitude perished in Hungary, and those who reached Constantinople fell under the cimeter in Asia Minor.

In the following year the crusade of the nobles started, —more prudent, better organized, more military. Four great armies, composed chiefly of Frenchmen, departed by three different routes. Those under Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Bourg, and Baldwin of Flanders followed the track of Peter the Hermit. Those under Raymond, Count of Toulouse, passed through Lombardy and Slavonia. The rest, commanded by Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William I of England, Stephen of Blois, and Hugh the Great of Vermandois, went to Brindisi to join the Italian Normans, and thence crossed the Adriatic, Macedonia, and Thrace. These 600,000 men were to meet at Constantinople.

With distrust the Emperor Alexis received into his capital guests so uncouth as the warriors of the West. As soon as possible he had them transported beyond the Bosphorus. They first laid siege to Nicæa at the entrance to Asia Minor, but allowed the Greeks to plant their banner on the walls when the city had been forced to surrender. Kilidj Arslan, the sultan of Roum, tried to arrest their march, but was vanquished at Dorylæum (1097). On entering arid Phrygia hunger and thirst decimated the invaders. Nearly all the horses perished. Bitter dissensions already divided the leaders. Nevertheless Baldwin, who led the vanguard, took possession of Edessa on the upper Euphrates, and the bulk of the

army captured Tarsus and arrived before Antioch. The siege was long and the sufferings of the invaders were cruel. At last the city opened its gates to the intrigues of Bohemond, who caused himself to be appointed its prince; but the besiegers were besieged in their turn by 200,000 men who had been brought up by Kerboga, the lieutenant of the caliph of Bagdad. By a marvelous victory the Christians cut their way out and marched at last upon Jerusalem, which they entered on July 15, 1099, after a siege no less distressing than that of Antioch.

Godfrey was elected king, but would accept only the title of defender and baron of the Holy Sepulcher, "refusing to wear a crown of gold on the spot where the King of kings had worn a crown of thorns." The conquest was assured by the victory of Ascalon over an Egyptian army which had come to recapture Jerusalem.

The majority of the crusaders returned home. The little kingdom of Jerusalem organized for defense and gave itself a constitution in accordance with feudal principles, which were thus transported ready made into Asia. Godfrey of Bouillon caused the Assizes of Jerusalem to be drawn up, a code which gives a complete picture of the feudal system. There were established as fiefs the principalities of Edessa and Antioch, afterward increased by the county of Tripoli and the marquisate of Tyre, and the lordships of Nablous, Jaffa, Ramleh, and Tiberias. The country was subjected to three judicial authorities: the court of the king, of the viscount of Jerusalem, and the Syrian tribunal for natives. The defense of the state was committed to two great military institutions: the Order of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, founded by Gérard de Martigues in 1100, and that of the Templars, founded in 1148 by Hugues de Payens. Through the influence of these institutions the kingdom of Jerusalem continued its conquests under the first two successors of Godfrey, Baldwin I (1100-1118), and Baldwin II (1118-1131). Cæsarea, Ptolemaïs, Byblos, Beyrout, Sidon, and Tyre were captured. But after these two reigns discord brought about decline and

Noureddin, sultan of Syria, seized Edessa, whose inhabitants he put to the sword (1144).

Second and Third Crusades (1147-1189).—This bloody disaster induced Europe to renew the crusade. Saint Bernard roused Christendom by his eloquent appeals. In the great assembly of Vézelay Louis VII, who wished to expiate the death of 1300 persons burned by him in the church of Vitry, his wife, Eleanor of Guyenne, and a throng of great vassals and barons, assumed the cross. The emperor of Germany, Conrad III, was the first to set out. He reached the heart of Asia Minor, but losing his whole army in the defiles of the Taurus returned almost alone to Constantinople, where Louis VII had just arrived. The latter was no more fortunate, though following the coast-line so as to avoid the dangerous solitudes of the interior. In Cilicia he abandoned the mass of pilgrims, who fell under the arrows of the Turks, and with his nobles embarked on Greek ships, arrived at Antioch, and then at Damascus, which the crusaders besieged in vain. He brought back from this expedition only his fatal divorce.

The capture of Jerusalem (1187) by Saladin, who had united Egypt and Syria under his scepter, provoked the third crusade. The Pope imposed on all lands, including even those which belonged to the Church, a tax called Saladin's tithe. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion of England, the three most powerful sovereigns of Europe, set out with large armies (1189). Barbarossa reached Asia by way of Hungary and Constantinople and had arrived in Cilicia, when he was drowned in the Selef. Nearly the whole of his army was destroyed. Philip and Richard made a more prosperous journey by a new route, the sea. The former embarked at Genoa, the latter at Marseilles. They put into port in Sicily and began to quarrel. Richard halted again at Cyprus to depose a usurper, Isaac Comnenus, and rejoined Philip under the walls of Saint Jean d'Acre, which the crusaders besieged. They wasted there more than two years, wholly engrossed in feats of chivalry against the Saracens and in quarrels with each other.

Philip found these discords a pretext to return to France. Richard, who remained in Palestine, was unable to recapture Jerusalem. On his way back a tempest wrecked his ship on the Dalmatian coast. He wished to cross Germany and regain England overland. Leopold, Duke of Austria, whose banner he had caused to be contemptuously cast into the trenches of Saint Jean d'Acre, kept him in prison until he paid an enormous ransom.

Fourth Crusade (1202). **Latin Empire of Constantinople** (1204-1261).—Innocent III could not resign himself to leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the infidels. He caused a fourth crusade to be preached by Foulques, curé of Neuilly, who persuaded many nobles of Flanders and Champagne to assume the cross. Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders, and Boniface II, Marquis of Montferrat, were the leaders. The crusaders sent envoys to Venice to ask for ships. Of this embassy Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the historian of that crusade, was a member. Venice first secured payment in hard cash, and then exacted of the crusaders that they should capture for her the stronghold of Zara, which belonged to the king of Hungary. Already once diverted from its religious purpose, the crusade was again turned aside by Alexis, the son of a deposed Greek emperor, who offered them immense rewards if they would reinstate his father. They placed him and his father for a time upon the throne. The great capital was then a prey to anarchy. Forgetting Jerusalem, the original object of their march, they seized Constantinople for themselves and parceled out the whole empire as booty. Baldwin was appointed emperor. The Venetians, seizing one quarter of Constantinople, most of the islands of the Archipelago, and the best harbors, dubbed themselves " lords of a quarter and half a quarter " of the Greek Empire. The Marquis of Montferrat became king of Thessalonica. The Asiatic provinces were given to the Count of Blois. A lord of Corinth, a duke of Athens, and a prince of Achaia were created. Some Greek princes of the Comnenan family retained a few fragments of the empire, such as the principalities of Trebizond, Napoli of Argolis, Epirus, and Nicæa. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted fifty-

seven years, and was then overthrown by the Greeks, and the Latins expelled.

Last Crusades (1229-1270). **Saint Louis.**—Jerusalem had not been delivered. The barons of the Holy Land constantly implored the aid of Christendom. Andrew II of Hungary led a fifth but fruitless crusade against Egypt. The sixth was commanded by Frederick II, who took advantage of the terror with which the approach of Tartar hordes inspired Malek Kamel, and obtained from him without combat a truce for ten years, together with the restitution of the Holy City, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Sidon. He even crowned himself king of Jerusalem (1229). Hardly had he taken his departure when the Turkomans, fleeing before the Mongols of Genghis Khan, hurled themselves upon Syria, at Gaza cut in pieces an army of crusaders, and seized the Holy City. At this news Pope Innocent IV tried to arouse Europe and launch it against the infidels. But the crusading spirit, waxing weaker day by day, found no echo save in the soul of Saint Louis, king of France. During an illness he made a vow to go and deliver Jerusalem. Despite the entreaties of his whole court and even of his mother, the devout Blanche of Castile, he embarked at Aigues Mortes with a powerful army (1248). He wintered at Cyprus. The crusaders had comprehended that the keys of Jerusalem were in Cairo. When spring came they set sail for Egypt and captured Damietta. But their sluggishness ruined everything. Insubordination broke out in the army. Debauches produced epidemics. Delayed a month at the canal of Aschmoum, after crossing it they suffered the disaster of Mansourah through the imprudence of Robert of Artois. During the retreat they were decimated by the pest and harassed by the Mussulmans, who captured their king, Saint Louis. He paid a million gold besants as ransom, then crossed over to Palestine and remained there three years, employing his influence in maintaining harmony and his resources in fortifying the cities.

He had managed this great expedition very badly. Sixteen years later he attempted another. In 1270 his brother Charles of Anjou, king of the Two Sicilies, per-

suaded him that the Tunisian Mussulmans must be attacked, whose threats made him anxious as to the fate of the Sicilian kingdom. Under the walls of Tunis the Christians encountered famine and pestilence, from which Saint Louis died. The princes who had accompanied him were paid to withdraw, and Charles of Anjou made a treaty advantageous to his Sicilian subjects. This crusade was the last.

Results of the Crusades in the East.—Those great expeditions, in which France played the principal part, devoured uncounted multitudes and failed in their object. The Holy Land remained in the hands of the infidels. Still Europe and Asia were brought closer together. In Europe itself, the Christian nations formed relations, and in each country all classes of the population became somewhat united. The crusades developed commerce and enlarged the horizon of thought. They opened the East to Christian travelers and to the merchants of Marseilles, Barcelona, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. To manufactures they revealed new processes and to the soil new plants such as the mulberry, maize, and sugar-cane. Feudalism was shaken by the gaps made in its ranks, and by the forced sale of lands to which many crusaders had recourse to obtain the money requisite for the journey. The communal movement derived greater strength, and the enfranchisement of the serfs received a broader interpretation. Finally, the crusades gave birth to the Knights Templar and to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem who defended the Holy Land, as well as to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who soon quitted the East to subdue and convert the pagans on the shores of the Baltic. Heraldry as a means of distinguishing individuals and companies was a product of the crusades.

The new religious orders which arose were an effect of the religious movement of which the crusades were themselves the consequence, and the mendicant friars are to be placed beside the soldier monks. The Franciscans, who gave rise to the Recollets, the Cordeliers, and the Capucins, date from 1215; the Dominicans, or Jacobins, from 1216. Removed from the control of the

bishops, they were the army of the Holy See. Possessing nothing, living on alms, they roamed the world over to carry the Gospel wherever a too wealthy clergy no longer carried it, amid the poor, along the highways, at the cross-roads, and in the public squares.

Crusades of the West.—In the East the crusades failed. In the West they succeeded; for they founded the two great states of Prussia and Spain and accomplished the political unity of France.

In the interval between the first and second crusades, the burghers of Bremen and Lübeck founded in the Holy Land a hospital under the charge of Germans for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. Everything at Jerusalem was taking on a religious and military form. The attendants of this hospital were transformed into an armed corporation, called the Teutonic Order, which speedily acquired great possessions, so that its chief was raised by Frederick II to the rank of prince of the empire. To this order a regent of Poland in 1230 instrusted the task of conquering and converting the Borussi or Prussians between the Nieman and the Vistula. They were successful in this undertaking and built the fortresses of Königsburg and Marienburg to overawe the defeated tribe. The Knights of Christ, or Brothers of the Sword, subjugated the neighboring regions at the same time. When they united with the Teutonic Order, Prussia, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, hitherto barbarous and pagan, were attached to the European community. Until the fifteenth century the Order exercised a preponderating power in the north. In the sixteenth century its Grand Master secularized this ecclesiastical principality, which then fell to the Electors of Brandenburg.

The crusade against the heathen of the Baltic caused civilization to germinate in a savage country. The crusade which Simon de Montfort directed against the Albigenses stifled civilization in a rich and prosperous region.

The population of southern France was the mixed offspring of different races. There religious opinions had sprung up which differed greatly from the prevailing

faith. The people were called Albigenses from their capital, Albi. Innocent III resolved to stamp out this nest of heresy. To Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, he sent the monk Pierre de Castelnau as a papal legate to demand the expulsion of the heretics, but he obtained no satisfaction. Raymond was then excommunicated (1207), whereupon he employed threats. One of his knights assassinated the legate at a ford of the Rhone. The monks of Citeaux at once preached a crusade of extermination. The same indulgences were promised as for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As the perils were less and the profit more sure, men rushed against the Albigenses in crowds. Among their assailants were the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers, Auxerre, and Geneva, the bishops of Reims, Sens, Rouen, and Autun, and many other dignitaries. Simon de Montfort, a petty noble from the vicinity of Paris, ambitious, fanatical, and cruel, was the chief commander. The war was merciless. At Béziers 30,000 persons were butchered and everywhere else in proportion. Raymond VI was defeated at Castelnaudary and Pedro II, king of Aragon, was slain at the battle of Muret (1213). The Council of the Lateran bestowed the fiefs of the Count of Toulouse upon Simon de Montfort. Southern France was crushed by the French of the north. The brilliant civilization of those provinces was smothered by rude hands. Like a funereal and ever-menacing specter, the tribunal of the Inquisition established itself on the blood-stained ruins.

Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, came finally to take part in this crusade. In their misery these people of Languedoc had bethought themselves of the king of France. Montpellier surrendered to him. When Simon de Montfort was slain at the siege of Toulouse, his son ceded to Louis IX (1229) the provinces which the Pope had given his father, but which he could not retain amid the universal execration of his subjects. Thus neither Montfort nor his race profited from this great iniquity. The entire political benefit of the crusade accrued to the house of France, which had at first remained a stranger to it.

When Charles Martel and Pepin the Short expelled the Arabs from France, they were satisfied with driving them over the Pyrenees into the Iberian peninsula. There Mussulmans and Christians found themselves constantly facing each other. Thus the history of Spain through the Middle Ages is that of a crusade six centuries long. After the battle of Xeres in 711, Pelayo and his comrades took refuge in the Asturias, behind the Cantabrian Pyrenees, where Gihon was their first capital. Oviedo became their capital in 760, when they had advanced a step toward the south. Still later it was Leon whose name the kingdom appropriated. Charlemagne protected them. From the Marches, which he founded north of the Ebro, emerged the Christian states of Navarre and Barcelona, between which the lords of Aragon and the counts of Castile founded fiefs which were to become mighty kingdoms. So along the north of Spain there was a series of Christian states, buttressed upon the mountains like fortresses, yet advancing in battle array toward the south. At the end of the ninth century Alphonso the Great, king of Oviedo, had already attained and passed the Douro.

In the tenth century the caliphate of Cordova showed fresh vigor. The Christians fell back in turn before the victorious sword of Abderrahman III, who defeated them at Simancas. Likewise they were worsted by the famous Almanzor, who wrested from them all the places on the banks of the Ebro and Douro, including Leon itself. But when this victor of fifty battles had himself suffered defeat at Calatanazor (998), the power of the caliphate fell with him. In the eleventh century the caliphate of Cordova was broken and the Christians drew closer together. Sancho III, king of Navarre, about 1000, acquired Castile by marriage and gave it together with the title of king to his second son, Ferdinand, who married a daughter of the king of Leon (1035). In the same manner he erected the county of Jacca or Aragon into a kingdom for his third son, Ramiro II, while the eldest, Garcias, inherited Navarre.

Thus four Christian kingdoms were founded and united by family alliances. Three, Navarre, Castile, and

Aragon, belonged to the sons of Sancho. The fourth, Leon, remained separate, but the male line of the descendants of Pelayo becoming extinct, the Council of the Asturias gave the crown to Ferdinand, thereby uniting Leon and Castile (1037). Internal affairs caused the Spaniards to forget for a time their struggle against the Moors, but when the holy war became popular in Europe Alphonso VI began again to carry forward the cross. In 1085 he seized Toledo, which once more became the capital and metropolis as it had been under the Visigoths. Henceforth the Christians, who had set out from the Asturias, were established in the heart of the peninsula. Five years later Henry of Burgundy, great grandson of Robert king of France, who had distinguished himself at the taking of Toledo, took possession of Oporto at the mouth of the Douro, which was erected for him into a county of Portugal by Alphonso. Almost simultaneously the famous Cid Rodrigo de Rivar, the hero of Spanish romance, advancing from victory to victory along the Mediterranean, seized Valencia (1094). At last in 1118 Alphonso I, king of Aragon, won a capital as king of Castile by mastering Saragossa.

The Arabs, enervated, divided, and consequently vanquished, called successively to their aid two hordes of African Moors. These were the Almoravides and Almohades, sectaries who claimed to simplify the religion of Mohammed. The former, summoned in 1086 by Aben Abed, king of Seville, arrived under the leadership of their chief Yusuf, the founder of Morocco (1069), cut in pieces the Christian army at Zalaca, and repaid themselves for this service at the expense of those who had called them thither. They even recaptured Valencia on the death of the Cid (1099), took possession of the Balearic Isles, and in 1108 at Ucles won over Alphonso VI a battle as sanguinary as that of Zalaca. There however their successes ended. Toledo repulsed them many times. Alphonso, son of Henry of Burgundy, who assumed before the combat the title of king of Portugal, won a complete victory over them at Iurique (1139), which rendered him master of the banks of the Tagus and of several places beyond that river.

The Almohades did not come from Morocco until the middle of the following century. When they made their appearance in 1210, 400,000 strong, all Europe took alarm. Pope Innocent III caused a crusade to be preached for the succor of the Spanish Christians. The Spanish kings formed a coalition and destroyed their enemies at the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which ended the great invasions from Africa. This achievement had been largely aided by the Spanish military Orders of Alcantara, Calatrava, and Saint James of Castile, and by the Portuguese Order of Evora.

The domination of the Almohades had finally ended in bloody anarchy. Cordova, Seville, Murcia, and many other places fell into the power of the king of Castile. Meanwhile Jayme I, the Conqueror, king of Aragon, subjugated the kingdom of Valencia and the Balearic Islands (1244), and Portugal, regaining the province of Algarve in 1270, assumed its definite territorial form. At the close of the thirteenth century the Moors possessed only the little kingdom of Granada, which was completely surrounded by the sea and by the possessions of the king of Castile. But in this contracted space, recruited by their co-religionists whom the Christians expelled from the conquered cities, they maintained themselves with a vigor which deferred their ruin for two centuries. Occupied with foreign affairs, the Spaniards suspended the holy war until 1492.

The crusade of Jerusalem failed though it contributed general results to the civilization of the Middle Ages. The crusade of Spain, without consequence so far as the social state of Europe was then concerned, changed the face of that peninsula and reacted in the sixteenth century upon modern Europe. It wrested the country from the Moors to give it to the Christians. The little kingdom of Portugal supposed that it was pursuing the crusade beyond the seas when it discovered the Cape of Good Hope. In that war of eight centuries' duration, the kings of Castile and Aragon developed an ambition which impelled them as well as their subjects to many enterprises. Their military habits were to make them the mercenaries of Charles V and Philip II, rather than

the peaceful and active heirs of the manufactures, the commerce, and the brilliant civilization of the Arabs.

Why did these two crusades result so differently? Simply because of distance. Palestine adjoined the land of Mecca. Spain was in sight of Rome. Jerusalem, at the extreme limit of the Catholic world, was bound to remain in the hands of the Mussulmans, just as Toledo, the last stage of Islam in the West, was bound to fall into the hands of the Christians. Geography explains much in history.

SOCIETY IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Progress in the Cities.—Since the fall of the Carlovingian empire three facts have been noted: the establishment of feudalism, the struggle between the Pope and the emperor for the control of Italy and the domination of the world, and lastly, the crusades. A fourth fact, resulting from the other three, in its turn had serious consequences. This was the reconstitution of the class of freemen. Let us indicate the character of this fact before returning to the special study of the states.

As early as 987 the villeins of Normandy had risen. But feudalism was still too strong and they were crushed. Although the nobles retained the control of the country districts, the villeins in the cities became bold and audacious behind their walls, and because of their numbers. In 1067 the city of Mans took arms against its lord. This was the beginning of that communal movement, which from the eleventh to the fourteenth century showed itself throughout Europe. Like Mans, cities in northern France and the Netherlands extorted from their civil or religious lords communal charters which assured to the inhabitants guarantees for the security of person and property, and jurisdiction to the municipal magistrates. These privileges, obtained generally by insurrection in the communes, were gained in the royal cities by concessions from the king. South of

the Loire many cities retained or revived the organization which they had possessed under the Roman Empire. By these different causes there was formed, little by little, under the shelter of these privileges, and of the security they bestowed, a burgher class which grew rich through manufactures and commerce. It formed powerful corporations, filled the universities, and acquired learning, especially of the laws, at the same time as wealth. Its merchants will be called by Saint Louis into his council. Its jurists will guide the French kings in their struggle against feudalism. Its burgesses will enter the States General of Philip the Fair, and will then form an order in the kingdom as the Third Estate.

In England the cities sent deputies to the parliament of 1264. In the parliament of 1295, 120 cities and boroughs were represented. Italy early had her republics. The Lombard League, when victorious over Frederick Barbarossa, imposed on him the Treaty of Constance (1183), which legalized their encroachments. North of the Alps the emperor, with a view to weakening feudalism, made the cities depend directly upon himself. For the sake of mutual protection they formed unions among themselves, the most famous of which was the great commercial Hanseatic League, the banner of which waved from London to Novgorod.

This progress in the city population brought about similar progress in the rural population. As early as the twelfth century serfs were admitted as witnesses in courts of justice, and the Popes had demanded their emancipation. Thus enfranchisements became common, for the lords began to understand that they would be the gainers in having upon their lands industrious freemen, rather than serfs "who neglect their work and say they are working for others."

The burghers, villeins, and serfs found a powerful auxiliary in Roman law, the study of which the kings encouraged as favorable to their authority. Based upon natural equity and common advantage, it permitted the legists to labor in a thousand ways for the overthrow of personal and territorial servitude, the two forms of bondage in the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century

began that sullen conflict between rational rights and feudal rights, which in France was destined to end only in the French Revolution of 1789.

Intellectual Progress.—With more order in the state, more labor in the cities, more ease in families, other and intellectual wants arose, schools were multiplied, new branches of study introduced, and national literatures begun.

The twelfth century had resounded with the mighty rival voices of the Breton philosopher Abelard, who championed a certain degree of liberty of thought, and of Saint Bernard, the apostle of dogmatic authority. The thousands of scholars who thronged around Abelard were the beginning of the University of Paris. In 1200 the Studium, called later the University of Paris, was endowed by Philip Augustus with its first privileges, one of which made it accountable only to the ecclesiastical tribunals. It served as a model for Montpellier, Orleans, Oxford, Cambridge, Salamanca, and many other famous seats. It soon became a center of scholastic learning, an arena of ideas. Its opinion was authoritative in the gravest controversies, and the most eminent men issued from its ranks. The two recently created mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, reckoned among their members men of genius like Saint Thomas Aquinas, who in his *Summa Theologiæ* undertook to record all that is known touching the relations of God and man, and Saint Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor. We must also mention the German Albert the Great; the Englishman Roger Bacon, a worthy predecessor of the other Bacon; the Scotchman Duns Scotus; and, lastly, the encyclopedist of that century, the author of the *Speculum Majus*, Vincent de Beauvais.

But with the exception of Bacon, who discovered or in his writings hinted at the composition of gunpowder, at the magnifying-glass and the air-pump, they all lived upon the remnants of ancient learning and made no additions thereto. Thus old and new errors were popular. Men believed in astrology, or the influence of the stars upon human life, and in alchemy, which caused them to seek the philosopher's stone or the

means of converting other metals into gold. Sorcerers abounded.

National Literatures.—In proportion as the individuality of peoples took on shape, national literatures developed. The epic, or heroic ballad, indeed was declining. Martin of Troyes subsequent to 1160 spun out the legend of Arthur into a tedious, eight-syllabled poem, and Guillaume de Lorris, who died in 1260, wrote the *Romance of the Rose,* full of attenuated ideas and cold allegories. French prose had its birth with Geoffroy de Villehardouin whose quaint book, *The Conquest of Constantinople,* is still read, and with Joinville who after the seventh crusade composed his *Memoirs* in more finished style, thereby affording a foretaste of Froissart. The literature of southern France after furnishing brilliant troubadours had perished, drowned in the blood of the Albigenses.

German literature shone under the Hohenstaufens, but mostly as a reflection from the French. Wolfram von Eschenbach in Suabia imitated the epic songs of the Carlovingian or Arthurian cycles. The *Nibelungenlied,* however, reveals its distinctively German origin, but the meistersingers and minnesingers, whose theme was love, drew their inspiration from Provençal poetry. German prose is hardly visible in a few rare moments of the thirteenth century. In Italy Dante was born in 1265. Spain had her war-songs in the romances of Bernardo del Carpio, the children of Lara, and the Cid. England was still too much engrossed with welding into a single idiom the Saxon-German and the Norman-French to produce any marked literary works. Her first great poet, Chaucer, belongs to the following age.

Architecture, the characteristic art of the Middle Ages, attained its perfection in the thirteenth century. Then it was simple, severe, grand, while in the following century it was to become florid and flamboyant. In France it produced Notre Dame de Paris, Notre Dame de Chartres, the Sainte Chapelle, the cathedrals of Amiens, Reims, Strasburg, Bourges, Sens, Coutances, and many more. Corporations of lay architects were formed. Lanfranc and Guillaume de Sens labored to-

gether in the construction of Canterbury cathedral. Pierre de Bonneuil went to Sweden to build the cathedral of Upsala (1258). Maître Jean in the same century erected the cathedral of Utrecht and French artisans worked on that of Milan.

The sculpture was heavy, but the stained glass windows of the churches were magnificent, and the miniature-painters embellished the missals with delicate masterpieces.

FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

(987-1328)

First Capetians (987-1108).—While feudal Europe was thronging the roads which led to Jerusalem, the great modern nations were assuming their outlines. Italy separated from Germany. France sought to separate herself from England, and Spain endeavored to rid herself of the Moors. The Capetian royal house was weak in the beginning, though it undertook the first internal organization of France. Hugh Capet spent his reign of nine years (987-996) in battling against the last representative of the Carlovingian family, and in seeking recognition in the south, wherein he did not succeed. His son Robert, crowned during his father's life so as to assure his succession, reigned piously although excommunicated for having married Bertha, his relative. He was wise enough to refuse the offered crown of Italy, but inherited the duchy of Burgundy. Henry I and Philip I lived in obscurity. The latter took no part in the first crusade or in the conquest of England by his Norman vassals. In fact from the ninth to the twelfth century French royalty existed only in name, because the public power which should have rested in its hands had become local power exercised by all the great proprietors. This revolution, which shattered the unity of the country for three centuries, was to be followed by another which would strive to unite the scattered fragments of French society and deprive the lords of the rights they had

usurped. This revolution was to render the king the sole judge, sole administrator, and sole legislator of the country. It began with Philip Augustus and Saint Louis, who restored a central government. It was fully accomplished only under Louis XIV, because the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453) and the religious wars of the sixteenth century interrupted this great internal work.

Louis the Fat (1108-1137).—The reign of Louis VI marked the first awakening of the Capetian royalty. That active and resolute prince put down in the neighborhood of Paris and the Île de France almost all the petty lords who used to descend from their donjon-keeps and pillage the merchants. He favored the formation of communities on the lands of his vassals. The example set by Mans in 1066 was soon followed by many other cities. But Louis, though gladly aiding the cities against their lords and thereby enfeebling the latter, permitted no communes to arise on his own domains. He tried to force Henry I of England to cede Normandy to his nephew, Guillaume Cliton, but did not succeed. When Henry V, emperor of Germany, son-in-law of the king of England, menaced France in 1124, Louis VI faced him with a powerful army wherein figured the men of the communes. In the north for a brief space he imposed Cliton upon the Flemings, who had just assassinated their count (1126). In the south he protected the bishop of Clermont against the Count of Auvergne. He compelled Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine, to pay him homage and obtained for his son, Louis the Young, the hand of Eleanor, the heiress of that powerful lord.

Louis VII (1137-1180).—By this marriage Louis VII added to the royal domain Aquitaine, Poitou, Limousin, Bordelais, Agénois, and Gascony and acquired suzerainty over Auvergne, Périgord, La Marche, Saintonge, and Angoumois. But while fighting with the Count of Champagne, he burned 1300 persons in the church of Vitry. From remorse he joined the crusade. Incensed against his queen Eleanor, he divorced her on his return and gave her back the duchy of Guyenne, her dowry. This

divorce was disastrous to the French monarchy and to national unity. Eleanor soon after married Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, and heir to the crown of England. The little domain of the king of France was thus enveloped and threatened by an overwhelming force. Fortunately this king was the suzerain and feudal law, which imposed respect on the vassal, still prevailed in its full force. Thus Henry, having attacked Toulouse, dared not prosecute the siege because Louis threw himself into the place. The French king also found supporters against his powerful adversary by allying himself with the clergy, whom the Englishman persecuted, and with the English princes, who revolted against their father. He welcomed Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, whom Henry's officers afterwards assassinated when the prelate, trusting the royal word, ventured to return to England.

Philip Augustus (1180-1223).—This prince, the last king crowned before his accession, did not inherit his father's faults. By persecuting and robbing the Jews, he obtained money. By giving up heretics and blasphemers to the Church, he gained the bishops. By forming a close alliance with the rebellious Richard, son of Henry II, he increased the embarrassments of the English king. At the same time safe but profitable petty wars secured for him Vermandais, Valois, and Amiens. On returning from the third crusade he had an understanding with John Lackland, brother of Richard Cœur de Lion, to despoil the latter. Richard, being released from prison, reached England in a rage and began a furious war in the south of France. Pope Innocent III interposed and caused the antagonists to sign a truce for five years. Two months later Richard was killed by an arrow at the siege of a castle of Limousin (1199).

The crown of England reverted by right to the young Arthur, son of an elder brother of John Lackland. John usurped it, defeated his nephew, and murdered him (1203). Philip Augustus summoned the murderer to appear before his court. John took good care not to come and Philip asserted his right under this forfeiture

to take from him all the places of Normandy. That rich province, whence the conquerors of England had set out, then became a part of the royal domain and Brittany, which was its dependency, became a direct fief of the crown (1204). Poitou, Touraine, and Anjou were occupied with equal ease. These were the most brilliant conquests that a king of France had ever made. By way of revenge John Lackland formed a coalition against France with his nephew, the Emperor Otto of Germany, and the lords of the Netherlands. Philip collected a great army, wherein the militia of the communes had their place, and gained at Bouvines a victory which had an immense influence throughout the whole land. This was the first national achievement of France (1214).

Before Philip Augustus died, the French monarchy reached the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean. The university had been founded, the supremacy of the royal jurisdiction vindicated by the verdict of the peers against John Lackland, the kingdom subjected to a regular organization by division for administrative purposes, and Paris embellished, paved, and surrounded by a wall.

In 1193 Philip had married Ingeborg of Denmark. The morning after the wedding, he sent her away to give her place to Agnes de Méranie. This scandal called down the reprimand of Pope Innocent III, who long threatened "the eldest son of the Church" before striking any blow, but finally to conquer his resistance placed the kingdom under an interdict. Philip understood the danger of an open rupture with the Church. He separated from Agnes, and took back Ingeborg in the Council of Soissons (1201).

Louis VIII (1223) **and Louis IX** (1226).—Louis VIII, who before his accession had been invited to England by the barons in rebellion against John, undertook a new expedition into the south. He captured Avignon, Nîmes, Albi, and Carcassonne, but died in an epidemic on his return (1226). His eldest son, Louis IX, was only nine years old. The barons endeavored to deprive the queen mother, Blanche of Castile, of the regency. But Blanche won over to her side the Count of Cham-

pagne and the war terminated to the advantage of the royal house.

Henry III, king of England, headed a rebellion of the lords of Aquitaine and Poitou. Louis, victorious at Taillebourg and Saintes, showed himself a generous conqueror and thereby secured the legal possession of what he retained. On condition of liege homage he consented (1259) to restore or to leave to the king of England, Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, Agénois, a part of Saintonge, and the duchy of Guyenne; but he kept by virtue of treaty Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine. He followed the same principle with the king of Aragon, ceding to him in full sovereignty the county of Barcelona, but compelling him to renounce his rights over his fiefs in France. Louis' virtues rendered him the arbitrator of Europe, and surrounded the French royalty with a halo of sainthood. He served as mediator between Innocent IV and Frederick II, and between the king of England and his barons in reference to the statutes of Oxford.

We have related the story of his two crusades in Egypt and Tunis. His domestic government aimed at putting an end to feudal disorder. In 1245 he decreed that in his domains there should be a truce between offender and offended for the space of forty days, and that the weaker might appeal to the king. He abolished the judicial duel in his domains. "What was formerly proved by battle shall be proved by witnesses or documents" (1260). He conceded a great place to the legists in the king's courts, the jurisdiction of which he extended. He fixed the standard of the royal coinage, and was the first to summon the burgesses to his council. In short his reign may be regarded as that period of the Middle Ages most favorable to learning, art, and literature, and he is well called Saint Louis.

Philip III (1270) **and Philip IV the Fair** (1285).—Together with the body of his father, Philip III brought back to France the coffin of his uncle Alphonse, whose death gave to him the county of Toulouse, Rouergue, and Poitou, which were united to the royal domain. The marriage of his eldest son, Philip IV, with the heiress

of Navarre and Champagne paved the way for the union of those provinces to the crown of France. The Massacre of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), which expelled the French from Sicily, brought about a war with Aragon which was finally profitable to the French of Naples. The reign of Philip III is obscure.

In 1292 a quarrel between some sailors caused difficulties with England of which Philip IV took advantage to have the confiscation of Guyenne declared by his Court of Peers. The war was at first carried on in Scotland and Flanders, one country being the ally of France and the other of England. Philip supported the Scottish chiefs, Baliol and Wallace, and occupied Flanders, whose count he sent to the tower of the Louvre.

Quarrel between the King and the Pope.—To meet the expenses of these wars and of a constantly embarrassed government, much money was needed. Philip pillaged the Jews, debased the coinage at his will, and taxed the clergy. Pope Boniface VIII imperiously demanded that the clergy should be exempt. He excommunicated whatever priest paid a tax without the order of the Holy See, and the imposer of such tax, " whoever they may be " (1296). Philip retorted by forbidding any money to leave the kingdom without his permission, thus cutting off the revenues of the Holy See. The great jubilee of the year 1300 suggested to the pontiff to demonstrate his secular power. To Philip he sent as his legate Bernard Saisset, the bishop of Pamiers, who seriously offended the king by his arrogance and in consequence was arrested. The Pope immediately (1301) launched the famous bull, *Ausculta, Fili,* to which Philip made an insolent reply. But feeling the need of national support for this conflict he convoked (1302) the first assembly of the States General, where clergy, barons, and burgesses pronounced in his favor. Boniface answered this attack by the bull, *Unam sanctam,* which subordinated the temporal power to the spiritual power, and threatened to give the throne of France to the emperor of Germany.

Thus the quarrel between the papacy and the empire seemed repeated. This time it was of brief duration.

The weakening of the spiritual power could be measured by the rapidity of its defeat. In a new States General the jurist Guillaume de Nogaret accused the Pope of simony, heresy, and other crimes. Guillaume de Plasian, another jurist, proposed that the king should himself convene a general council and cite Boniface before it. Nogaret started for Italy to take the person of the Pope into custody, and his companion, the Italian Colonna, with his iron gauntlet smote in the face the aged pontiff, who died of grief (1303). The king was powerful enough to impose upon the cardinals the election of one of his creatures as Benedict XI and afterwards of Clement V. They established the Holy See at Avignon, and began that series of Popes who remained at the mercy of France for seventy years (1309-1378). This period is called the Captivity of Babylon.

Condemnation of the Templars.—Philip obtained from Clement V the condemnation of the memory of Boniface and of the Order of the Knights Templar, a militia which was devoted to the Holy See and whose immense possessions tempted the king. The Templars were arrested throughout France without their offering any resistance. By legal process they were accused of the most monstrous crimes. Torture wrung from them such confessions as it always extorts. The States General, convoked at Tours, declared them worthy of death, and in 1309 fifty-four were burned. In 1314 Jacques Molay, their Grand Master, suffered the same fate.

Insurrection of the Flemings.—While royalty was triumphing over the great religious institutions of the Middle Ages, the people were beginning their struggle against the lords. The Flemings, driven to desperation by the extortions of the governor whom Philip IV had imposed upon them, rose in rebellion and inflicted upon the French nobility the terrible defeat of Courtray (1302). This disaster Philip avenged by his victory of Mons-en-Puelle (1304). But in Flanders he retained only Lille, Douai, and Orchies.

The Last Direct Capetians (1314-1328). **The Salic Law.**—Under Louis X the Quarrelsome a feudal reaction took place against the new tendencies of royal power. The

ministers of the late king were its victims. The reign of Louis X is remembered only for the enfranchisement, after payment, of the serfs of the royal domain. On his death his brother Philip V claimed the crown to the detriment of Jeanne, his niece. He caused the States General to declare that "No woman succeeds to the crown of France." This declaration has been rigidly observed by the French monarchy and is improperly called the Salic Law. Philip V also died without male heirs (1322). His brother, Charles IV the Fair, succeeded and left only a daughter. The crown was given to a nephew of Philip IV, who founded the Valois dynasty (1328). But Edward III of England, by his mother Isabella the grandson of Philip the Fair, asserted a claim to the throne. Hence arose the Hundred Years' War.

FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

Norman Invasion (1066).—After Canute the Great the conflict of the Saxons and Danes in England became complicated by a new element. The princes of Saxon origin, dispossessed by the Danes, found an asylum with the Normans of France. When Edward the Confessor ascended the throne of Alfred the Great, he invited many of these Normans to his court and bestowed on them the principal bishoprics. The Saxons were jealous and their leader, the powerful Earl Godwin, succeeded in expelling the foreigners. His son Harold, who succeeded to his dignities and influence, conceived the unfortunate idea of visiting William, Duke of Normandy. His host, having him in his power, made him swear that he would aid William to secure the English throne on Edward's death. When Edward died, Harold was elected king by the wittenagemote and repudiated the promise wrung from him by force. William, accusing him of perjury, undertook the conquest of England. He had the sanction of the Holy See, which complained that Peter's Pence was not paid. The invaders disem-

barked in the south, while Harold in the north was repelling a Norwegian invasion. A few days later the battle of Hastings (1066), one of the really decisive battles of the world's history, in which Harold perished, delivered the country to the Normans. Nevertheless for a long time the Saxons did not resign themselves to their defeat. The Welsh and the Norwegians helped them to resist. In the Isle of Ely they formed the "camp of refuge." Rather than submit many of them became outlaws and lived in the forests, where the Norman lords hunted them like wild beasts.

Strength of Norman Royalty in England.—William divided England among his comrades. The secular and ecclesiastical domains of the Saxons were occupied by the conquerors, many of whom had been cowherds or weavers or simple priests on the continent, but now became lords and bishops. Between 1080 and 1086 a register of all the properties occupied was drawn up. This is the famous land-roll of England, called by the Saxons the Doomsday Book. On this land thus divided was established the most regular feudal body of Europe. Six hundred barons had beneath them 60,000 knights. Over all towered the king, who appropriated 1462 manors and the principal cities and by exacting the direct oath from even the humblest knights attached every vassal closely to himself.

This fact demands consideration, for the whole history of England depends upon this partition, as does French history upon the inverse position occupied by the first Capetians. The English royalty, so strong on the morrow of the conquest, soon became oppressive and forced the barons in self-defense to unite with the burgesses. Thus the nobles saved their own rights only by securing those of their humble allies. In this manner by agreement between the burgher middle class and the nobles English public liberty was founded. Hence the nobility has always been popular in England. Liberty, the dominating sentiment of England, has created its noble institutions. The English have disregarded equality, to which the French sacrifice everything. In France the oppressor was not the petty sovereign who wore the

royal crown, but feudalism. Against it the oppressed, both king and people, united, but the chief who directed the battle kept for himself all the profits of victory. Therefore instead of general liberties was developed the absolute authority of the king. Before him villeins and nobles were equally dependent, and hence arose the common sentiment of equality.

William II (1087). **Henry I** (1100). **Stephen** (1135). —William the Conqueror died in 1087. William II, Rufus, his second son, succeeded him in England and Robert, the elder son, in Normandy. Robert tried unsuccessfully to take England from his younger brother and then set out on the crusade. He was still absent when William Rufus died while hunting. Their youngest brother, Henry I, Fine Scholar, seized the crown. When Robert attempted to assert his rights, he was beaten at Tenchebray (1106) and Normandy was reunited to England. Louis the Fat was also defeated, who had tried to secure that duchy at least for Guillaume Cliton, Robert's son (1119).

Henry I intended to leave the throne to his daughter, Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V and wife of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. He charged his nephew, Stephen of Blois, with protecting the empress, as she was called. Stephen usurped the crown for himself and defeated the Scotch, Matilda's allies, at the battle of the Standard. Afterwards she took him prisoner, but it was agreed that he should reign until his death and that his successor should be Henry of Anjou, surnamed Plantagenet, the empress' son.

Henry II (1154).—By the renunciation of Matilda, his mother, he received Normandy and Maine. From his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine. Marrying Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis the Young, he acquired Poitiers, Bordeaux, Agen, and Limoges, together with suzerainty over Auvergne, Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois, La Marche, and Périgord. In 1154 he ascended the throne of England at the age of twenty-one, and finally married one of his sons to the heiress of Brittany. This power was formidable, but Henry II

frittered it away in quarrels with his clergy and his sons.

The clergy ever since the time of the Roman Empire had possessed the privilege of judging itself. When an ecclesiastic was accused, the secular tribunals could not try the case. The ecclesiastical courts alone could pronounce judgment. In England William the Conqueror had granted to this privilege, called the benefit of the clergy, a very wide extension. Numerous abuses and scandalous immunity from punishment resulted therefrom. Henry II wished to end all this. With the object of awing the clergy, he appointed as archbishop of Canterbury his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, a Saxon by birth, and until then the most brilliant and docile of courtiers. Becket immediately changed character and became austere and inflexible. In a great meeting of bishops, abbots, and barons the king had adopted the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), which compelled every priest accused of crime to appear before the ordinary courts of justice, forbade any ecclesiastic to leave the kingdom without the royal permission, and intrusted to the king the guardianship and revenues of every vacant bishopric or benefice. Thomas à Becket opposed these statutes and fled to France to avoid the wrath of his former master. Louis VII having reconciled him to Henry, he returned to Canterbury but would make no concessions in the matter of ecclesiastical privileges. The patience of the king was exhausted and he let fall hasty words which four knights interpreted as a sentence of death. They murdered the archbishop at the foot of the altar (1170). This crime aroused such indignation against Henry that he was forced to abolish the Constitutions of Clarendon and do penance on the tomb of the martyr.

He submitted to this humiliation only from fear of a popular uprising and excommunication at the very time when he was at war with his three eldest sons, Henry Duke of Maine and Anjou, Richard Cœur de Lion Duke of Aquitaine, and Geoffrey Duke of Brittany. Even his fourth son, John Lackland, eventually joined them. Henry II passed his last days in fighting his sons and

the king of France, who upheld the rebels. In 1171 he conquered the east and south of Ireland.

Richard (1189). **John Lackland** (1199).—Richard who succeeded is that Cœur de Lion, or Lion-hearted, whom we have previously seen famous in the third crusade. This violent but brave and chivalrous prince was followed by his brother, John Lackland, a man of many vices and destitute even of courage. His crime in murdering his brother's son cost him Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Poitou, and he foolishly renewed his father's quarrel with the Church. Refusing to accept the prelate whom the Pope had appointed archbishop of Canterbury, he was excommunicated and threatened with an invasion, as Innocent III had authorized Philip Augustus to conquer England. He humbled himself before the Holy See, promised tribute, and acknowledged himself its vassal. Then he tried to take revenge for all his humiliations by forming against France the coalition which was overthrown at the battle of Bouvines. While his allies were defeated in the north, John himself was vanquished in Poitou. On returning to his island, he found the barons in revolt, and was forced to sign the Magna Charta (1215).

This memorable act is the foundation of English liberty. It guaranteed the privileges of the Church, renewed the limits marked out under Henry I to the rights of relief, of guardianship and marriage, which the kings had abused, promised to impose no tax in the kingdom without the consent of the great council, and lastly, established the famous law of habeas corpus which protected individual liberty and the jury law which assured to the accused a just trial. A commission of twenty-five guardians was charged with supervising the execution of this charter and with compelling a reform of abuses. The danger past, John wished to tear up the charter and obtained the Pope's sanction thereto. The barons invited to England Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, who might have become king of the country if after the sudden death of John (1216) the barons had not preferred a child, his son, to the powerful heir of the French crown.

Henry III (1216).—The new reign was a long minority. In it we constantly behold weakness, perjury, fits of violence, and every attendant circumstance to teach the nation the necessity and the means for restraining by institutions that royal will which was so little sure of itself. Abroad Henry III was defeated by Saint Louis at Taillebourg and Saintes. His brother Richard of Cornwall, being elected emperor, played a ridiculous part in Germany and one costly for England. At home popular discontent increased at repeated violations of Magna Charta, at the favor shown to the relatives of Queen Eleanor of Provence, who caused all the offices to be conferred upon them, and at a real invasion of Italian clergy sent by the Pope who monopolized all the ecclesiastical benefices.

First English Parliament (1258).—On the eleventh of June, 1258, convened the great national council of Oxford, the first assembly to which the name of Parliament was officially applied. The barons forced the king to intrust the reforms to twenty-four of their number, only twelve of whom were appointed by him. These twenty-four delegates published the statutes or provisions of Oxford. The king confirmed the Great Charter. The twenty-four annually nominated the lord high chancellor, the lord high treasurer, the judges, and other public officials and the governors of the castles. Opposition to their decisions was declared a capital crime. Finally Parliament was to be convoked every three years. Henry III protested and appealed to the arbitration of Saint Louis, who pronounced in his favor. But the barons did not accept this decision. They attacked the king in arms, having as their leader a grandson of the conqueror of the Albigenses, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. They took prisoners the monarch and his son Edward at the battle of Lewes (1264). Then Leicester, governing in the name of the king whom he held captive, organized the first complete representation of the English nation by the ordinance of 1265, which prescribed the election to Parliament of two knights for each county and of two citizens or burgesses for each city or borough of the said county.

Edward I (1272).—Under this prince the public liberties were respected and the kingdom increased by the acquisition of Wales. In Scotland Edward vanquished in succession the three champions of the independence of that country: John Baliol at Dunbar (1296), William Wallace at Falkirk (1298), and Robert Bruce. But the latter gained the advantage under the reign of the feeble Edward II (1307) and by the great victory of Bannockburn (1314) secured Scottish independence. The despicable Edward II was governed by favorites whom the great lords expelled or sent to the scaffold. He himself was put to death by his wife (1327).

Progress of English Institutions.—These convulsions consolidated institutions which were destined after their complete development to prevent the recurrence of disorder. Let us recapitulate these constitutional steps. In 1215 Magna Charta, the Great Charter or declaration of the public rights, was promulgated. In 1258 the statutes of Oxford established regular meetings of the great national council, the guardian of the charter of 1215. In 1264 there entered Parliament representatives of the petty nobility and of the burghers, who were subsequently to form the lower chamber or the Commons, while the barons, the immediate vassals of the king, were to form the upper chamber or the House of Lords. Beginning with 1265 deputies of the counties and cities were regularly and constantly elected. In 1309 Parliament stipulated conditions to the voting of taxes so that royalty, naturally extravagant, would be kept in check and made to respect the laws. Thus in less than a century through the union of the nobles and the burgher class, England laid those foundations which in modern times have so firmly upheld her fortune and guaranteed her tranquillity.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

(1328-1380)

Causes of the Hundred Years' War.—England and France, the latter strong through the progress of the royal power, the former through that of public liberty, were engaged in a struggle for more than a century. This is the Hundred Years' War, which the rashness and incapacity of the French nobility rendered so glorious for England. As grandson of Philip the Fair, Edward III had claims upon the crown of France, for the Salic Law had not as yet acquired the importance which it assumed later on. But at the accession of Philip of Valois he appeared to renounce them. He even paid him the feudal homage which was due the king of France for the duchy of Guyenne. Nevertheless Edward constantly cherished the hope of supplanting him. He was encouraged therein by the fugitive Robert of Artois, despoiled of the county of Artois, and by the Flemings who, being in need of English wool to feed their manufactures, rebelled under the leadership of the brewer Jacques Arteveld against their count, the friend of France, and recognized Edward as their legitimate king.

Hostilities in Flanders and Brittany (1337).—The only fact of importance during the first eight years of war was the great naval victory of the English at the battle of the Sluice (1340). Fighting was carried on chiefly in Brittany, where Charles de Blois, head of the French party, disputed the ducal crown with Jean de Montfort supported by the English. The death of Jacques Arteveld, killed in a popular tumult, did not take away the Flemish alliance from England, which maintained its superiority in Flanders and Brittany.

Battle of Crécy (1346).—In 1346 the fighting became more serious. Edward invaded France and penetrated to the heart of Normandy, expecting to march upon Paris. The lack of provisions forced him to turn northward and approach Flanders. Philip of Valois, although

commanding 60,000 men, could not prevent his passage of the Seine and Somme, but gave battle near Crécy at the head of tired and undisciplined troops. The English army, not half so numerous, was well placed upon a height supplied with cannon, which then for the first time were seen in battle, and was covered by a dense line of skillful archers. The French chivalry, thrown at random against this strong position, were riddled with arrows and strewed the field of battle with their dead. Edward though victorious continued his retreat upon Calais, which he captured after a year's siege, and which the English held for two centuries. He obtained at the same time important advantages in Scotland and Brittany. David Bruce was made prisoner at Nevil Cross and Charles de Blois at Roche Derien.

John the Good (1350). **Battle of Poitiers** (1356).— At the accession of John the Good, France was already in a sad state. Calais and a great battle had been lost. Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, was intriguing to assert rights to the throne, which he claimed to inherit from his mother, Jeanne d'Evreux. The States General convoked in 1355 raised pretensions which recalled and exceeded the Great Charter of England. They pretended to collect the public dues through their agents, to superintend the expenditures, and to impose their orders on every one. The nobles refused to submit to the impost and formed a plot in which Charles the Bad was the leader. John arrested many of the conspirators at a banquet at the very table of his own son Charles, and struck off their heads. The English judged the occasion favorable. Edward sent the Duke of Lancaster to Normandy, and the Black Prince to Guyenne. The latter advanced toward the Loire. After devastating the country he retreated, but found his road cut off by King John, who with 50,000 men completely surrounded his little army. But skillful measures taken by the prince upon the hillock of Maupertuis near Poitiers, and the usual rashness of the French nobles, gave him a most brilliant victory. The king himself was captured.

French Attempt at Reforms. The Jacquerie.—The great disasters of Crécy and Poitiers, caused by the incapacity of kings, generals, and nobles, brought about a popular commotion. As the king and the great majority of the lords were prisoners, the nation took in hand the guidance of public affairs. The States General, convened by the Dauphin Charles, expressed their will through Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants for the Third Estate, through the Bishop of Laon for the clergy, and through the Lord of Vermandois for the nobility. Before granting any subsidy, they demanded the removal and trial of the principal officers of finance and justice, and the establishment of a council, chosen from the three orders, and charged with the direction of the government. The States became bolder still. They established a commission of thirty-six members to superintend everything, and caused the Great Ordinance of Reformation to be issued. Thereby they asserted their right to levy and expend the taxes, to reform justice, and control the coinage. Even a mild political reform was dangerous in the face of the victorious English. Moreover this ordinance, accomplished by a few intelligent deputies, was neither the work nor even the desire of France. Not a single arm outside Paris was raised in its support. The revolution seemed only a Parisian riot. When the dauphin tried to escape from the obligations imposed upon him, Étienne Marcel assassinated his two ministers, the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, before his very eyes. Such acts of violence discredited the popular movement, which was furthermore disgraced by the excesses of the mob or the Jacquerie. Finally Marcel, forced to seek other support, was on the point of delivering Paris to Charles the Bad, when the plot was discovered. He was killed and his party fell with him.

Treaty of Brétigny (1360).—The dauphin, being rid of Marcel, signed a treaty with Charles the Bad and remained sole master. With the consent of the States he repudiated the disastrous treaty which John, weary of his captivity, had just concluded and agreed to that of Brétigny which was slightly less onerous. Thereby

Edward renounced his claim to the crown of France, but received thirteen provinces in direct sovereignty. Dying in 1364, John ended a reign equally fatal in peace or war. The duchy of Burgundy had escheated to the crown, the first ducal house having become extinct. Instead of joining it to the national domain, John alienated it in favor of his fourth son, Philip the Bold. Thus he founded a second ducal house which on two occasions came near destroying the kingdom.

Charles V (1364-1380) **and Duguesclin.**—This Charles the Wise rescued France from the abyss of misery. He allowed the foreign invasion to waste itself in the ravaged provinces, and shut up his troops in the strongholds, whence they harassed the enemy and rendered it impossible for them to obtain fresh supplies. Duguesclin, a petty gentleman of Brittany, whom he had taken into his service and whom he afterwards appointed constable of France, by the victory of Cocherel (1364) rid him of Charles the Bad. He also delivered the country from the "free companies," leading them to the succor of the king of Castile, Henry de Transtamara, against his brother, Pedro the Cruel, whom the English were supporting and whom he subsequently overthrew (1369).

In 1369 the Gascons, irritated by the extortions of the Black Prince, appealed against him to Charles V, the feudal suzerain of the duchy of Aquitaine. The king caused the Court of Peers to declare this great fief confiscated. This was a declaration of war. Charles V was ready, but Edward was not. Nevertheless a powerful English army disembarked at Calais. It marched through France as far as Bordeaux, but found itself reduced on the way to 6000 men. When the Prince of Wales died in 1376 and Edward III in 1377, almost the entire fruit of their victories was already lost. Bayonne, Bordeaux, and Calais alone remained in the hands of the English.

Charles was equally skillful and equally fortunate against Charles the Bad, from whom he took Montpellier and Evreux. He failed, however, in the attempt to unite Brittany to the royal domain. Influenced by the memories of his youth, he avoided assembling the

States General. Still he strengthened Parliament by permitting it to fill vacancies in its own body. He favored letters which had Froissart, the inimitable chronicler, as their principal representative. He also began the Royal Library, which under him numbered 900 volumes. He died in 1380.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

(1380-1453)

Charles VI.—Internal troubles almost suspended the struggle between France and England for thirty-five years. During the minority of Charles VI his uncles wrangled over the regency, and the people of Paris beat the tax collectors to death. Rouen, Châlons, Reims, Troyes, and Orleans joined in a communal movement which started from Flanders, but which was put down by the French nobility at the bloody battle of Roosebec. The Flemish leader, Philip van Arteveld, was there slain. The princes learned no lessons from these events. Squandering of the public funds and disorders of every sort continued. Suddenly the young king lost his reason and was lucid afterwards only at rare intervals. His uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, disputed the control of affairs. The former, surnamed John the Fearless, decided the matter by assassinating his rival. The Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the new duke of Orleans, headed the faction to which a portion of the nobility adhered and which took his name. The Duke of Burgundy was supported by the cities. A civil war broke out marked by abominable cruelties. Then the Cabochian Ordinance for the reform of the kingdom was devised. This sagacious code was of brief continuance. Two years later the Hundred Years' War began again.

Wiclyffe.—A general effervescence was then agitating Western Europe. Everywhere the people were chafing under a social order which overwhelmed them with miseries. In the cities the burghers, enriched by their

small beginnings in manufactures and commerce, wished to secure their property from the caprice and violence of the great. Some even laid presumptuous hands on the things of the Church.

In 1366 Pope Urban V demanded from England 33,000 marks, arrears of the tribute which John Lackland had promised to the Holy See. Parliament refused payment; and a monk, John Wiclyffe, took advantage of the popular indignation to attack in the name of apostolic equality the whole hierarchy of the Church. In the name of the Gospel he also assailed such dogmas, sacraments, and rites as were not found expressly stated in the New Testament. His translation of the Bible into English rapidly disseminated those ideas which Lollard, burned at Cologne in 1322, had already taught.

One of Wiclyffe's partisans even drew political consequences from his doctrine. John Ball went about through the cities and towns, saying to the poor:—

> "When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Where was then the gentleman?"

Revolutionary thoughts were fermenting everywhere. They existed in the minds of those who about this same time were exciting the riots of Rouen, Reims, Châlons, Troyes, and Paris and the insurrection of the White Caps in Flanders. The unthinking protests of the fourteenth century against mediæval double feudalism, the secular and the religious, announced the deliberate revolt of Luther and Calvin in the sixteenth in the realm of faith, of Descartes in the seventeenth in philosophy, and of the whole world in the eighteenth in politics.

Richard II (1380).—One year after the accession of Richard II, son of the Black Prince, 60,000 men marched to the gates of London, demanding the abolition of serfdom, the liberty to buy and sell in the markets and fairs, and, what was more unreasonable, the reduction of rents to a uniform standard. They were put off with fair promises. After they had dispersed, 1500 of them were hanged and everything went on as before.

The young king had three ambitious and greedy un-

TRIAL OF JOAN D'ARC AT ROUEN 1431

From the Painting by Fred Roe

cles. They stirred up opposition to him. He rid himself of the most turbulent, the Duke of Gloucester, by assassination. Many nobles were slain or exiled, and England bowed her head in terror. Henry of Lancaster, a descendant of a third son of Edward III, and then in exile, organized a vast conspiracy. Richard was deserted by all and deposed by Parliament "for having violated the laws and privileges of the nation." So, thus early, England through her Parliament had already succeeded in forming a people and in resuming the ancient idea of national rights superior to dynastic rights. The next year Richard was assassinated in prison.

Henry IV. Battle of Agincourt (1415). **Treaty of Troyes** (1420).—Henry IV devoted his reign of fourteen years to settling the crown securely in his house. On his deathbed he advised his son to recommence the war against France, so as to occupy the turbulent barons. In 1415 Henry V renewed at Agincourt the laurels of Crécy and Poitiers. This defeat, again due to the rashness of the nobility, overturned the government. The Burgundians reëntered Paris, which they again deluged with blood. After the English archers and men-at-arms had safely placed their booty on the other side of the Strait, they returned to the quarry, pillaging Normandy systematically and capturing its cities one after the other. In 1419 Rouen fell into their hands. The assassination of John the Fearless also served their interests. This murder, authorized by the dauphin, threw the new duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, into the English party. Henry V, once master of Paris and of the person of Charles VI, caused himself by the treaty of Troyes to be acknowledged as heir to the king, the daughter of whom he married.

Charles VII and Joan of Arc.—Henry and Charles both died in 1422. They were succeeded by two kings in France, the English infant Henry VI at Paris, and the Valois Charles VII south of the Loire.

The little court of the latter cared only for pleasure and gayety. The constable of Richemont sought in vain to rouse the king from his unworthy occupations. Meanwhile petty defeats chased his armies from Burgundy

and Normandy. Bedford, the English regent, managed affairs skillfully and in 1428 laid siege to Orleans the key of the south. The disgraceful battle of the Herrings completed the discouragement of the French party, and Charles VII was contemplating retreat to the extreme south when Joan of Arc made her appearance.

This peasant girl, born at Domrémy on the frontier of Lorraine, presented herself at court, claiming that it was her mission to deliver Orleans and crown the king. Her virtues, her enthusiasm, and her confidence inspired confidence. The most valiant captains threw themselves into Orleans, following in her train. Ten days later the English after several defeats evacuated their camp. Next she won the battle of Patay, where the English commander Talbot was captured, and conducted the king to Reims, where he was crowned. Believing her wonderful mission accomplished, she wished to return home but was dissuaded. In May, 1430, while defending Compiègne, she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who sold their prisoner to the English for 10,000 francs. Tried and condemned for witchcraft, she was burned alive at Rouen on May 30, 1431.

Success and Reforms of Charles VII.—This crime marked the close of English good fortune. Affected by French reverses, the Duke of Burgundy remembered that he was a Frenchman and abandoned the English. His defection was profitable for himself, as he obtained several cities and counties, as well as exemption from all homage. Thus he became king in fact in his fiefs. In the following year Paris opened her gates to Charles VII. In 1444 the English, through the influence of the Cardinal of Winchester, who headed the peace party, concluded a truce of two years with France, and sealed it by the marriage of Henry VI with Margaret of Anjou. At the same time Charles VII put down a rebellion of the nobles, who were alarmed at the progress of his authority, and had the Bastard of Bourbon tied up in a sack and thrown into the water. By the creation of a permanent army, he dealt a death-blow at feudal power. In possession of this strictly national force, Charles was no longer dependent on the mercenaries and

highwaymen who devastated, rather than defended, France.

Soon he found himself strong enough to finish with the English. By the battle of Formigny (1450) he drove them from Normandy, and by that of Castillon (1453) from Guyenne. They retained only Calais. So ended the Hundred Years' War, which had heaped so many calamities upon France. It had strengthened public liberty in England and enforced the dependence upon Parliament of victorious kings who needed money and men for their expeditions. While it continued, the two peoples advanced farther in the different paths which we have seen them enter. Amid the ruins of France royalty was finding absolute power. Despite their triumphs of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the English kings learned submission to Parliament and the law.

SPAIN AND ITALY FROM 1250 TO 1453

The Spanish Crusade. Domestic Troubles.—The Moors were now crowded upon the Alpujarras as the Christians had formerly been upon the Pyrenees. Instead of continuing the struggle and driving them into the sea, the Spanish kings forgot the conflict which had made their fortune, and yielded to the temptation of meddling in European affairs.

Navarre, which had been unable to increase its territory in the religious wars, looked northward toward France, and gave itself to the Capetians when its heiress married Philip the Fair.

Alphonso X, king of Castile, wished to be emperor of Germany. While he wasted his money in this vain candidacy, the rival houses of Castro, Lara, and Haro kept the kingdom in turmoil and even sought aid from the Moors. Threatened with insurrection, the king himself solicited the support of the African Merinides. The nation deposed him and put in his place his second son, Don Sancho, a brave soldier (1282). Nevertheless Alphonso X was surnamed the Wise. He knew astronomy,

and published a code wherein he tried to introduce the right of representation, prevalent in the feudal system, but not in Spain.

Sancho availed himself of the ancient law and claimed the succession in preference to his nephews, sons of his deceased elder brother. Therefrom troubles ensued with the king of France, uncle of the dispossessed young princes. The stormy minorities of Ferdinand IV and Alphonso XI saw disorders again in Castile. The latter prince, however, rendered himself illustrious by the great victory of Rio Salado over the Merinide invasion and by the capture of Algiers. After him Pedro the Cruel and his brother, Henry II of Transtamara, disputed the throne. By the aid of Duguesclin Transtamara succeeded, after he had himself stabbed his brother in his tent. Henry III vainly tried to repress the Castilian nobility, who under John II and Henry IV tyrannized over the country and court. Royalty became independent only about the close of the fifteenth century under Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic.

While the energies of Castile were dissipated in civil dissensions, Aragon acquired Roussillon, Cerdagne, and the lordship of Montpellier, and interfered in the affairs of the Albigenses. It also gained Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers, which it retained despite the stipulations of the treaty of Anagni, and added Sardinia to its dominions. In 1410 the house of Barcelona became extinct. Its various crowns passed to a prince of Castile, who left two sons: Alphonso V, who became king of the Two Sicilies through his adoption by Joanna of Naples; and John II, who for a time united Navarre and Aragon by poisoning his son-in-law, Don Carlos of Viana. To Ferdinand, the successor of this monster, it was reserved to accomplish the unity and grandeur of Spain by his marriage with Isabella of Castile.

The feudal system never was really established in Castile. Amid the risks of a desperate struggle against the Moors, the nobles and cities, fighting separately, acquired independence and fortified themselves in their castles or behind their walls. Many of these cities obtained fueros, or charters of liberty, and the king merely

placed an officer or regidor in them for general supervision. But three distinct classes existed in Castile: the ricos hombres or great landed proprietors; the caballeros or hidalgos, or petty nobles, exempt from imposts on condition of serving on horseback; the pecheros or taxpayers who formed the burgher class. As every one had fought in the Holy War, there were no serfs as in feudal countries and the gulf between the classes was less profound than elsewhere. Beginning with 1169 the deputies of the cities were admitted to the Cortes, the national parliament.

Aragon had more of the feudal system, perhaps because of the former Carlovingian domination in the Marches of Barcelona. The ricos hombres received baronies, which they divided up and sub-enfeoffed. Next were the mesnaderos or lesser vassals, the infanzones or plain gentlemen, and the commoners. These four orders were represented in the Cortes. But Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia had their separate cortes. The royal authority was greatly hampered by the jurisdiction of the justiza or grand justiciary.

Portugal at the extremity of Europe opened out new ways for herself. John I, head of the house of Avis, which succeeded the extinct house of Burgundy, maintained the independence of Portugal against the pretensions of Castile by the victory of Aljubarotta (1385). He then turned the attention of his people toward Africa and in 1415 conquered Ceuta. This expedition taught his youngest son, Henry, that Portugal, shut off from the land by Castile, had no future except toward the sea. He established himself in the village of Sagres on Cape Vincent, summoned mariners and geographers, founded there a naval academy, and at last launched his navigators upon the ocean. In 1417 they discovered Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Islands, where the prince planted vines from Cyprus and sugar-canes from Sicily. Pope Martin V granted him sovereignty over all the lands which should be discovered from the Canary Isles as far as the Indies, with plenary indulgence for whoever should lose their lives in these expeditions. Zeal redoubled. In 1434 Cape Bojador was passed, then Cape

Blanco and Cape Verde. The Azores were discovered. They were on the road to the Cape of Good Hope, which the Portuguese Vasco da Gama was to sail round half a century later.

The Kingdom of Naples under Charles of Anjou (1265). —In the strife for universal dominion which the chiefs of Christendom, the Pope, and the Emperor had waged, Italy, the theater and the victim of the struggle, could not attain independence. When the empire and the papacy declined, she seemed at last about to control her own destiny. Such, however, was not the case. Her old habits continued of intestine discords and of mixing strangers with her quarrels. She repeated the spectacle once presented by the turbulent cities of ancient Greece. She was covered with republics, waging incessant war with each other, and yet she shone with a vivid glow of civilization that was the first revival of letters and arts.

The death of Frederick II (1250) marked the end of the German domination in Italy. But he left a son at Naples, Manfred, who at first braved the ill-will of the Pope. Urban IV, resolved to extirpate "the race of vipers," had recourse to foreign aid. He bestowed the crown of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, on condition of his doing homage to the Holy See, paying an annual tribute, and ceding Beneventum. In addition to this Charles swore never to join to this kingdom the imperial crown, Lombardy, or Tuscany (1265). The excommunicated Manfred was vanquished and slain. Conradin, a grandson of Frederick II, came from Germany to claim his paternal inheritance. Beaten and captured at Tagliacozzo, he was beheaded by order of Charles of Anjou, together with his friend Frederick of Austria. With him the glorious house of Suabia became extinct.

The conqueror strengthened his power in the kingdom of Naples by executions. Despite his promises he ruled over most of Italy under the various titles of imperial vicar, senator of Rome, and pacificator. He dreamed of a fortune still more vast and meditated restoring for his own benefit the Latin empire of Constantinople, which had recently fallen. After being diverted for a

time from this project by the Tunisian crusade (1270) and by the opposition of Gregory X and Nicholas III, he was at last about to put it into execution when the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers (1282) gave Sicily to Peter III, king of Aragon, one of the accomplices in the great conspiracy of which the physician Procida was the head. Then began the punishment of this ambitious and pitiless man. Admiral Roger de Loria burned his fleet. His son Charles the Lame was captured in another naval battle, and the king of France, his ally, was repulsed from Aragon. The treaty of 1288 secured Sicily to a son of the Aragonese. In 1310 Pope Clement V compensated the house of Anjou by placing one of its members upon the throne of Hungary.

Italian Republics. Guelphs and Ghibellines.—During this conflict in the south the little states of the north, freed from both the German and the Sicilian domination, were engaged in continual revolutions. The government in Lombardy passed into tyrannies; in Tuscany into democracies; in Venetia into aristocracies; in Romagna into all these various systems. In 1297 Venice declared that only the noble families of councilors then in office were eligible for the Great Council. This measure was shortly afterward crowned by the completion of the Golden Book, or register of Venetian nobility, and the establishment of the Council of Ten. In 1282 Florence raised the Minor Arts, or inferior trades, almost to the level of the Major Arts by setting up an executive council composed of the chiefs of all the Arts. This was to the disadvantage of the nobles, who could be admitted to public employments only on renouncing their rank. A little later the population was divided into twenty companies, under a like number of gonfaloniers or standard-bearers commanded by one supreme gonfalonier. The majority of the Tuscan cities adopted this organization with little change. So, too, did Genoa. But this was not a source of harmony. Genoa, which disputed Pisa's rights to Corsica and Sardinia, destroyed the military force of the Pisans in the decisive battle of Meloria (1284). The unhappy defeated city was at once attacked by all Tuscany. It resisted for a while and

intrusted all power to the famous Ugolino. When he had perished together with his four children in the Hunger Tower, prostrate Pisa was able to exist only by renouncing every ambition. Florence then controlled all Tuscany, but she turned her arms against her own breast. Under the name of Ghibellines and Guelphs her factions carried on a relentless war. Dante the great Florentine poet, the father of the Italian language, in exile lamented these dissensions and sought everywhere for some power capable of restoring peace to Italy. He found it neither in the papacy, then captive at Avignon, nor in the emperor to whom Italy was simply a source of profit. Henry VII, Louis of Bavaria, John of Bohemia, extorted what they could from the unhappy land.

The tribune Rienzi, filled with classic memories which were then reviving, tried to restore liberty to Rome (1347) and to render her the protectress of Italian independence. He set up a so-called Good State, but this merely ephemeral enthusiasm was powerless to overcome local passions, or the terror caused by the horrible black pest or the Plague of Florence which Boccaccio has described in his *Decameron* (1348). At the instigation of the papal legate he was massacred by that very populace of Rome by whom he had been so often applauded.

Return of the Papacy to Rome (1378). **The Principalities.**—The revolution of 1347 warned the papacy of the discontent caused by its absence. It finally returned to Rome in 1378. Stripped of the power and prestige which it had formerly possessed, it was incapable of giving rest to revolutionary Italy. In Florence there were constant troubles between the Major Arts or upper class, led by the Albizzi, and the Minor Arts, led by the Medici. Hostile to both were the ciompi or petty tradesmen. The latter put Michael Lendo, a wool-carder, at their head, who seized the power but was unable to retain it. The commercial rivals, Venice and Genoa, were waging against each other the so-called war of Chiozza, which Venice, at first besieged in her own lagoons, finally terminated by the destruction of the Genoese marine. She also subdued Padua and Vin-

cenza, but did not ruin them as Florence had done to Pisa, destroying it from top to bottom.

In Lombardy skillful leaders took advantage of civil discords and converted the republics into principalities. Thus did Matteo Visconti at Milan, Cane della Scala at Verona, and Castruccio Castracani at Lucca. In 1396 Gian Galeozzo Visconti bought from the Emperor Wenceslas the titles of duke of Milan and count of Pavia, with supreme authority over twenty-six Lombard cities. The condottieri, or mercenaries, another scourge of Italy, handed over everything to the first adventurer who was able to lead or pay them. A former peasant, Sforza Attendolo, became a mercenary, entered the service of Philip Marie Visconti, married his daughter, and at his death seized the duchy of Milan (1450). Northern Italy was falling under the sword of a mercenary. Florence bowed her head beneath the yardstick of an opulent merchant, Cosmo de Medicis, who supplanted the Albizzi. With the support of that same Sforza, whose banker he was, he established in his city an analogous system, though less despotic and more brilliant than that of Milan. The cry for liberty which the Roman Porcaro lifted in the peninsula in 1453 found no echo.

The Aragonese at Naples.—As far as the welfare of Italy was concerned, there was nothing to hope for from the Neapolitan kingdom, itself a prey to endless wars of pretenders. Against the guilty Joanna I, queen of Naples, Urban VI summoned Charles of Durazzo, the son of the king of Hungary, and offered him the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Joanna recognized as her successor Duke Louis of the second house of Anjou. Charles, victorious in 1381, smothered Joanna under a mattress. For a time he exercised an important influence over Italy. But when he died in Hungary, the kingdom of Naples relapsed into anarchy, fought over by the princes of Anjou, Hungary, and Aragon. Alphonso V of Aragon, who was adopted by Joanna II, finally prevailed (1442).

Brilliancy of Letters and Arts.—Despite her wretched political condition, Italy shone in her letters, arts, manufactures, and commerce. Her language, already formed

at the court of Frederick II, became fixed under the pen of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. She welcomed the Greek fugitives. Her learned men, Petrarch, Chrysoloras, Bracciolini, and Leonardo Bruni, gave the signal for the search after manuscripts and the revival of ancient letters. Nicholas V founded the Vatican library; Cosmo de Medicis founded the Medicean library, and had Plato commentated by Marcilio Ficino. Venice had her church of Saint Mark (1071); Pisa her famous cathedral (1063), her Baptistery (1152), her leaning tower (1174), her gallery of the Campo Santo (1278); Florence, her churches of Santa Croce, of Santa Maria Del Fiore, and that wonderful cathedral of Brunelleschi, opposite which Michael Angelo wished to be buried. Cimabue, Giotto, and Masaccio were creating painting.

At the end of the thirteenth century Venice had 35,000 sailors and monopolized the commerce of Egypt, while Genoa controlled that of Asia Minor, the Dardanelles, and the Black Sea. Milan was a great industrial city in the middle of a rich country. Florence manufactured 80,000 pieces of cloth a year, and Verona one-fourth as many. Canals fertilized Lombardy. Banks put money in circulation. No other European state was so advanced in civilization, but no country was so divided. Consequently it possessed much wealth to excite the greed of foreigners, but not a citizen or a soldier to defend it.

GERMANY, THE SCANDINAVIAN, SLAVIC, AND TURKISH STATES

(1250-1453)

The Interregnum. The House of Hapsburg (1272).— Instead of employing its forces to organize Germany, the imperial authority had worn itself out in Italy. After the death of Frederick II, the former country endured twenty-three years of anarchy (1250-1273). This is called the Great Interregnum. The throne, disdained by

the German princes and sought by such foreign or feeble competitors as William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall, and Alphonso X of Castile, was practically vacant. While the supreme authority was thus eclipsed, the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Hungary and the vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy, shook off the yoke of imperial suzerainty. The petty nobility and the cities ceased payment of their dues. The lords built donjons which became lairs of bandits. To protect their possessions against violence, the lesser lords formed confederations and so did the cities. About the same time the Hanseatic League came into existence. This confederation had Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic as its headquarters, and its chief counting houses were London, Bruges, Berghen, and Novgorod. In the country districts many serfs acquired liberty or sought an asylum in the suburbs of the cities.

The great interregnum ceased with the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg, an impoverished lord who did not seem formidable to the electors (1273). Abandoning Italy which he called the lion's den, he centered his attention upon Germany. He defeated and slew on the Marchfeld (1278) Ottocar II, king of Bohemia, who refused him homage. He annulled many grants made by successors of Frederick II, forbade private wars, made the states of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Alsace take an oath to keep the public peace of the empire. He founded the power of his house by investing his sons, Albert and Rudolph, with the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

Switzerland (1315).—The Hapsburgs had lands in Switzerland, and their bailiffs were hard upon the mountaineers. In 1307 the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden united to end this oppression. To this period belongs the heroic legend of William Tell. Albert was assassinated by his nephew at the passage of the Reuss when about to give the confederates battle. Leopold, Duke of Austria, lost the fight at Morgarten (1315), where the Swiss laid the foundations of their independence and of their military renown. The three original cantons were joined by Lucerne, Zurich, Glaris, Zug, and

Berne (1332-1353). The victories of Sempach (1386) and of Næfels (1388) consolidated Helvetian liberty.

Powerlessness of the Emperors.—The German princes who now disposed of the crown desired to give it only to penniless nobles, so that the emperor should not be able to call them to account. For this reason they elected Henry VII of Luxemburg (1308). Louis IV of Bavaria belonged to a stronger house but, excommunicated by Pope John XXII and threatened by the then all powerful king of France, he was on the point of resigning a title which brought him only annoyance. Then the princes, ashamed of the situation forced upon the man of their choice, drew up the Pragmatic Sanction of Frankfort, which declared that the Pope had no rights whatever over the empire or over the emperor. The reign of Charles IV (1346-1378) is remarkable only for the greed of that needy prince, who made money out of everything, "plucking and peddling out the imperial eagle like a huckster at a fair." Nevertheless Germany owes him the Golden Bull, which determined the imperial elective system. It named seven Electors, three of them ecclesiastics, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, and four laymen, the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg (1356).

Wenceslas disgraced the imperial throne by ignoble vices, and was deposed in 1400. Under Sigismund the Council of Constance assembled and the Hussite War broke out. The council was convened in 1414 to reform the Church and to terminate the schism which had arisen from the simultaneous election of two popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon. It barely attained the second object and failed in the first. It sent to the stake John Huss, rector of the University of Prague. He had attacked the ecclesiastical hierarchy, auricular confession, and the use of images in worship. His followers, called the Hussites, revolted under the leadership of a blind general, John Zisca. All Bohemia was aflame and for fifteen years people religiously cut one another's throats!

At the death of Sigismund (1438) the Hapsburgs again ascended the imperial throne, which they occupied

until 1806. Albert II died in 1439 while fighting the Ottoman Turks, and his posthumous son Ladislas inherited only Bohemia and Hungary. But Frederick, another Austrian prince of the Styrian branch, succeeded to the empire (1452). He was the last emperor who went to Rome for coronation. However, the resonant title did not confer even the shadow of power. The head of the empire had as emperor neither revenues nor domains nor military forces nor judicial authority, except in rare cases. His right to veto the decisions of the Diet was generally a mockery. The Diet, divided into the three colleges of the electors, the princes, and the cities, was the real government of Germany. Still it governed as little as possible, and did in reality govern very little the seven or eight hundred states of which the empire was composed.

Hungary, then the bulwark of Europe against the Ottoman Turks, was attached to the German political system. Under the reign of Sigismund it had been united for a brief period to Austria, but became separated therefrom under Ladislaus, king of Poland, who was defeated and slain by the Ottomans at Varna (1444). John Hunyadi, voëvode of Transylvania and regent of the kingdom, for a long time held the Mussulmans in check.

Union of Calmar (1397).—Scandinavia comprised the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. These countries, whence the pagan Northmen had set out, were converted in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Denmark was powerful under Canute the Great, who reigned also over England, and under the two brothers Canute VI and Waldemar the Victorious (1182-1241) who conquered Holstein and Nordalbingia. Waldemar had large revenues, a fine navy, and a numerous army. He published the Code of Scania. Danish students went in quest of learning to the University of Paris. Later on Sweden in turn became powerful under the dynasty of the Folkungs, who founded Stockholm (1254). Norway suffered from long continued disturbances, due to the elective character of its monarchy, which became hereditary only in 1263.

In 1397 under Margaret the Great, daughter of the

Danish Waldemar III, it was stipulated by the Union of Calmar that the three northern kingdoms should form a permanent union, each retaining its own legislation, constitution, and senate. This union, the condition of their greatness and security, unhappily did not last. After the death of the "Semiramis of the North" (1412), it was weakened by the rebellion of Schleswig and Holstein and was broken in 1448 by Sweden, which then gave itself a king of its own. Denmark and Norway remained united.

Power of Poland.—The Slavic states between the Baltic and the Black Sea furnish very little to history before the ninth century. The Poles on the banks of the Vistula and Oder had as their first duke Piast, the founder of a dynasty which reigned for a time under the suzerainty of the German Empire. Boleslav I the Brave (922) declared himself independent and assumed the title of king. Boleslav III the Victorious (1102-1138) subdued the Pomeranians. But after him Silesia withdrew. The Knights of the Teutonic Order were called to succor Poland against the Borussi or Prussians, an idolatrous tribe said to have sacrificed human beings. They established a new state between the Vistula and the Niemen, which became a dangerous enemy. Poland was compelled to cede to it Pomerania and Dantzic. She indemnified herself under Casimir the Great by the conquest of Red Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia and extended her frontiers as far as the Dnieper (1333-1370). Yet under this sagacious prince the pacta conventa took its rise. This was a system of capitulations imposed by the nobility on new kings, and destined to become a source of that anarchy which finally delivered Poland to her enemies. The election to the throne of Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, in 1386, rendered Poland the dominant state of Eastern Europe. From the Knights of the Teutonic Order he seized many provinces, and by the Treaty of Thorn their dominions were reduced to eastern Prussia (1466). The Poles became world-famous as soldiers and devoted adherents of the Roman Church. When the Turks under Kara Mustapha besieged Vienna in 1683 it was a Polish king, John Sobieski, who rescued

the Austrian capital and saved Christendom from the Moslem.

The Mongols in Russia.—Russia, which absorbed a great part of Poland later on, had as yet done little. We have seen how the Northmen, the pirates led by Rurik, entered the service of the powerful city of Novgorod, which they eventually occupied as masters (862). Gradually spreading out, they descended the Dnieper, to seek at Constantinople lucrative service or adventure. In the eleventh century the grand principality of Kief was already a respectable power. In the twelfth the supremacy passed to the grand principality of Vladimir. In the following century Russia was invaded by the Mongols of Genghis Khan, who in 1223 fought a battle in which six Russian princes perished. Baty captured Moscow in 1237 and advanced as far as Novgorod. The grand principality of Kief ceased to exist; that of Vladimir paid tribute. Poland, Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary were conquered or devastated. Even the Danube was crossed and for a time all Europe trembled. The Mongols halted at last before the mountains of Bohemia and Austria, but Russia remained under their yoke for two centuries.

The Ottoman Turks at Constantinople (1453).—Toward the same period a less noisy but more tenacious invasion was taking place south of the Black Sea. Descending from the Altaï or "Golden Mountains," the Turks had invaded India, Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor. Othman, the chief of one of their smaller tribes, obtained possession of Brousa in 1325, and his son Orkhan gained Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Galipoli on the European side of the Dardanelles. Murad I endowed the Ottomans with a terrible army by developing the corps of the janissaries. This soldiery was composed of captive Christian youth, who were reared in the Mussulman religion. Special tracts of land were assigned them. Enforced celibacy and life in common gave them some resemblance to a military order. Before directly attacking Constantinople, the sultans outflanked it. Murad I took Adrianople and attacked the valiant peoples of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Albania. A victor at

Kossova, he fell by assassination on the field of battle (1389). His successor, Bayezid I, reaped the fruits of his victory. Macedonia and Bulgaria submitted and Wallachia acknowledged itself tributary.

On the banks of the Danube Bayezid I encountered a European crusade, commanded by Sigismund. Many French knights, and among them John the Fearless, took part. Those brilliant nobles ruined their cause by their obstinate rashness at the fatal battle of Nicopolis (1396). More efficacious aid reached the Greeks from an unexpected quarter. Tamerlane had restored the empire of Genghis Khan, and ruled from the Ganges to the Don. Assailing the growing Ottoman power, he overthrew and captured Bayezid I at the great battle of Angora (1402). The rapid disappearance of the Mongols enabled the Ottomans to recover. In 1422 Murad II laid siege to Constantinople but in vain. He failed also in Albania against Scanderbeg, but won the battle of Varna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, was slain (1444). Fortunately the Hungarians and Hunyadi, though sometimes defeated but always in arms, through their repeated efforts checked the conquerors. Moreover the Ottomans could not hurl their whole strength upon Western Europe so long as Constantinople resisted them. Mohammed II resolved to free himself from this determined enemy. He besieged the imperial city with an army of over 200,000 men, an immense artillery, and an enormous fleet. His ships he transported overland into the harbor across the isthmus which separates the Golden Horn from the Bosphorus. The Emperor Constantine XIII maintained a heroic though hopeless resistance for fifty-seven days. A final assault, on May 29, 1453, accomplished the fall of the Eastern heir of the Roman Empire.

SUMMARY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

If now we sum up this history, apparently so confused, we perceive that the ten centuries of the Middle Ages naturally divide into three sections.

From the fifth to the tenth century the Roman Empire crumbles away. The two invasions from the north and the south are accomplished. The new German Empire which Charlemagne attempts to organize is dissolved. We behold everywhere the destruction of the past and the transition to a new social and intellectual condition.

From the tenth to the fourteenth century feudalism has its rise. The crusades take place. The Pope and the Emperor contend for the world. The burgher class is reconstituted. This is the mediæval period, simple in its general outlines, which reaches its fullest flowering in the time of Saint Louis of France, with customs, institutions, arts, and even a literature peculiar to itself.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this feudal society descends into an abyss of misery. The decay seems that of approaching death. But death is the condition of life. If the Middle Ages vanish, it is to make way for Modern Times. A little charcoal, saltpeter, and sulphur will restore equality on the battlefield, a prophecy of approaching social equality, either under royal omnipotence or under the protection of public liberties. Hence power changes its place. No longer the monopoly of the man of arms or of the noble, it passes first to the kings as later on it will pass to the people. Thought becomes secularized and quits the cloister. The genius of ancient civilization is about to spring forth. Already artists and writers are on the road of the Renaissance, as the Portuguese are on that of the Cape of Good Hope. Audacious voices are heard arguing about obedience and even about faith. The Middle Ages have indeed come to an end since things are becoming new.

But did the Middle Ages wholly die? They bequeathed to Modern Times virile maxims of public and

individual rights, which then profited only the lords, but which now profit all. The Middle Ages developed chivalrous ideas, a sentiment of honor, a respect for woman, which still stamp with a peculiar seal those who preserve and practice them. Lastly, mediæval architecture remains the most imposing material manifestation of the religious sentiment, an architecture we can only copy when we wish to erect the fittest houses of prayer.

HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES

PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN FRANCE

Principal Divisions of Modern History.—The Middle Ages have been characterized by the predominance of local powers like fiefs and communes, and by the small consideration paid the state. Modern Times until the nineteenth century are characterized by the preponderance of a central power or absolute royalty, and by governmental action substituted for that of individuals and communities. But while the political life of the nations was becoming concentrated in their chiefs, the intellect by an opposite tendency was bursting its bonds and diffusing itself over everything to renew all.

The political revolution will result in the Italian wars and the rivalry through centuries of the houses of France and Austria.

The intellectual movement will cause: a pacific revolution in art, science, and letters, or the Renaissance; an economical revolution, or the discovery of the New World and of the route to India, thereby creating a prodigious commerce which will place personal property in the hands of the common people; a religious revolution, or the Reformation of Luther and Calvin, against which fanaticism will excite abominable wars; a philosophic revolution, brought about by Bacon and Descartes and continued in the eighteenth century. The latter will result in a new political and social revolution whose success unhappily will be compromised by blind resistance and criminal violence.

This in its general features is the history of the centuries which compose the period from 1453 to 1848, called Modern Times. First, then, we have to show how the political institutions of the Middle Ages gave way

in the principal states of Europe to a new system of government.

Louis XI (1461-1483). **The League of Public Welfare** (1465).—Charles VII had reconquered France from the English. He had also to reconquer it from the nobles. The work was already begun. More than one rebellious noble had been drowned or beheaded or banished. The dauphin himself, the son of Charles, who afterwards became Louis XI, had entered into every plot against his father and had been forced to demand a refuge with the Duke of Burgundy. He was with him when Charles VII died (1461). When this former leader of discontent ascended the throne, it was thought that the good old days of feudalism were returning. Such expectation was quickly undeceived. At first Louis bungled. He dismissed most of the officers whom his father had appointed, increased the perpetual villein tax from 1,800,000 livres to 3,000,000, and notified the University of Paris of the papal prohibition to interfere in the affairs of the king and the city. By other acts he offended the parliaments of Paris and Toulouse. He incensed the ecclesiastics and the nobility, and rendered the great dukes of Brittany and Burgundy his enemies. Five hundred princes and nobles formed the League of Public Welfare against him.

The danger was great. Louis met it with little heroism but with much cleverness. After a show of military activity he shut himself behind the walls of his capital and labored to dissolve the League by offering pensions and lands to those greedy nobles. By a variety of public and private arrangements he promised them each whatever each one desired. As for the public welfare, no one spoke or thought of that.

Interview of Péronne (1468).—After the confederates were satisfied and all had returned home, he began systematically to retract everything he had granted. To the Duke of Berri he had ceded Normandy, which it was most important to the king to retain. Inciting insurrections in several Burgundian towns, he thus occupied Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and at the same time purchased the neutrality of the Duke of Brittany

by the present of 100,000 crowns. Then he entered Normandy and made himself its master. Meanwhile by gifts or bribes of money or office he shrewdly attached to himself some of the most influential persons in France.

Charles the Bold tried to revive the whole feudal system and to make an alliance with Edward IV, king of England. As an English army was preparing to disembark in France, Louis went to the court of Charles to negotiate in person and avert the danger. At that moment a rebellion, which he had previously incited and which he had forgotten to countermand, broke out at Liège. Charles, profoundly incensed, imprisoned his guest in the castle of Péronne. Louis obtained his freedom only by hard concessions and by marching with the duke against Liège. That unhappy city, whose inhabitants fought to the cry of "Long live the king," was given over to sack (1468).

The treaty of Péronne was the last mistake of Louis XI. To his one rival, the Duke of Burgundy, it was the beginning of impossible dreams and enterprises. Louis sent his brother, the Duke of Berri, to the other end of France by giving him Guyenne instead of Champagne. He shut up the cardinal La Balue and the bishop of Verdun for ten years in an iron cage because they had betrayed him. The king of England, allied to the Duke of Burgundy, had a mortal enemy in the Earl of Warwick. Louis reconciled the latter to Margaret of Anjou and furnished him the means of overthrowing Edward IV and restoring Henry VI. Now sure of having isolated Charles the Bold, he convoked at Tours an assembly of notables. He caused this assembly to repudiate the treaty of Péronne. Forthwith he seized Saint Quentin, Montdidier, Amiens, and other towns. He set on foot 100,000 men and a powerful artillery (1471).

Death of the Duke of Guyenne (1472).—The rage of Charles was raised to frenzy by the death of the Duke of Guyenne or Berri, upon whom rested the hopes of feudalism (1472). Charles the Bold openly accused Louis XI of fratricide, and entered the kingdom dealing everywhere fire and blood. At Nesle the entire popula-

tion was butchered. The inhabitants of Beauvais resisted with a heroism of which the women and especially Jeanne Hachette set the example. Charles was forced to retrace his steps. He signed the truce of Senlis.

Enterprises and Death of Charles the Bold (1477).— The chief attention of the Duke of Burgundy was now directed toward Germany, Lorraine, and Switzerland. He wished to unite his two duchies and his possessions in the Netherlands by the acquisition of the intermediate countries, Lorraine and Alsace. That done, he aimed at conquering Provence and Switzerland and restoring old Lotharingia under the name of Belgian Gaul. He already held Upper Alsace and the county of Ferrette, which the Austrian Archduke Sigismund had pawned to him for money, and he was soliciting from the Emperor Frederick III the title of king. Louis XI, by his activity and his money, caused the shipwreck of these ambitious plans. The archduke suddenly paid the duke the 80,000 florins agreed upon as the ransom of Alsace. Hagenbach, the agent of Charles in that country, was seized and beheaded by the inhabitants of Brisach (1474). Lastly the Swiss, whom he had molested, entered Franche-Comté and gained over the Burgundians the battle of Héricourt. While these events were taking place in the south, Charles himself in the north was meeting failure in his attempt to support the archbishop of Cologne against the Pope and the Emperor. Edward IV, who had landed in France at his invitation, concluded the treaty of Pecquigny with Louis XI, who loaded him with money and sent him back to his island.

That he might be free to finish his affairs with Lorraine and Switzerland, the duke signed with the king of France a new treaty at Soleure. A few days later he entered Nancy and conquered Lorraine. The Swiss remained to be dealt with. He made a foolish attack and was completely routed at Granson (1476). Three months later he was again defeated at Morat. Then Lorraine rose in favor of René de Vaudemont, and Charles went to his death in battle under the walls of Nancy (1477).

Union of the Great Fiefs with the Crown.—While the mightiest feudal house of France was thus crumbling to ruin on the plains of Lorraine, Louis XI was destroying the others. Many lords were guilty either of plots against the king or of monstrous crimes. Jean V of Armagnac had married his sister and slew whoever opposed him. Besieged and captured in Lectoure, he and his wife were put to death. The Duke of Nemours was beheaded in the market-place. The Duke of Alençon was imprisoned and the constable of Saint Pol also executed. Louis confiscated not only their heads, but their property.

As to the immense possessions left by Charles the Bold, he could obtain only a portion. His disloyal policy forced Mary, the heiress of Burgundy, to marry the Archduke Maximilian. From this marriage, unfortunate for France, arose the enormous power of Charles V, which caused the houses of France and Austria long and bloody struggles. Nevertheless Louis succeeded in incorporating Picardy and part of Burgundy into the royal domain. He even compelled the conditional cession of Franche-Comté. During the preceding year he acquired all the inheritance of the house of Anjou. Thus when he died in 1483 he had rescued from feudalism and added to France, Provence, Maine, Anjou, Roussillon and Cerdagne, Burgundy with the Maçonnais, Charolais, and Auxerrois, Franche-Comté, Artois, half of Picardy, Boulogne, Armagnac, Étampes, Saint Pol, and Nemours.

Administration of Louis XI.—He rendered tenure of office permanent, established posts, created the parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon, enlarged opportunity of appeal to the royal tribunal, assured the public tranquillity and the safety of the highways, multiplied fairs and markets, and attracted from Venice, Genoa, and Florence artisans who founded at Tours the first manufactures of silk. He encouraged mining industry and entertained the idea of giving France a common system of weights and measures. He delighted in learned men, founded the Universities of Caen and Besançon and favored the introduction of printing.

Charles VIII (1483).—Charles VIII succeeded, a child of thirteen, feeble in mind and body. His guardian was his eldest sister, Anne of Beaujeu, in shrewdness and decision the worthy daughter of her father. A violent reaction against the late policy made many victims, but the nobles could not overthrow the work of Louis XI. They demanded and obtained the convocation of the States General, but their expectations were disappointed. The deputies, especially those of the Third Estate, would not make themselves the tools of feudal grudges. They reformed some abuses, but left entire power to Anne of Beaujeu, together with guardianship of the king's person, whom they declared of age. This princess continued her father's policy without his cruelty. The Duke of Orleans entered into an alliance with the Duke of Brittany and the Archduke Maximilian to overthrow her. He was defeated and captured in what is called the Mad War. The regent won another triumph as to the succession in Brittany. That great fief was almost as formidable as Burgundy. She married its heiress to Charles VIII, and thus paved the way for its union with France. Unfortunately the king broke away from his sister's guardianship in ambition for distant expeditions. Eager to put his dreams into execution, he signed three foolish treaties. By that of Étaples he continued to Henry VII the pension which his father had paid to Edward IV. By that of Barcelona, he restored Roussillon and Cerdagne to the king of Aragon. Lastly by that of Senlis, still more disastrous, he enabled Maximilian to gain Artois and Franche-Comté. Thus, through the folly of her sovereign, France receded on three frontiers. It required nearly two centuries and the astuteness of Richelieu and Louis XIV to regain what Charles VIII threw away in pursuit of a chimera.

PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN ENGLAND. WAR OF THE ROSES

Houses of Lancaster and York.—England had outstripped Europe in her political institutions. Parliament and the jury system gave the English control of the taxes and trial by their peers, the double guarantee of political and civil liberty. The nobles, united with the commoners, did not allow the kings to abandon themselves to their caprices. Then came a civil war of thirty years' duration, which overrode all these pledges of prosperity and opened to royalty the path of absolutism. This was the War of the Roses, originating in the rivalry of the house of Lancaster, or Red Rose, and the house of York, or White Rose.

The house of Lancaster, seated on the throne by the accession of Henry IV, had given England the glorious Henry V and his successor, the feeble and imbecile Henry VI. Under the latter France was lost, and the national pride of the English was greatly wounded by their reverses. They beheld with indignation the truce of 1444, and were incensed at the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou, who as a French princess became the object of their aversion. Richard, Duke of York, thought the moment propitious to assert his claims to the throne. The house of Lancaster descended from the third son of Edward III. The house of York was in the female line descended from the second son, and in the male line from the fourth son. Richard caused the Duke of Suffolk, the king's favorite minister, to be attainted by the House of Commons. The court enabled the accused to escape, but he was overtaken on the high seas by an English vessel, whose crew seized, condemned, and beheaded him (1450).

At the same time an Irishman, Jack Cade, stirred up the county of Kent to rebellion against the exactions of the nobility. He got together a crowd of 60,000 men, and was master of London for several days. The robberies committed by this mob armed every one against

them, and an amnesty offered by the king brought about their dispersion. Their leader was captured and executed (1459).

As the king suffered from a mental trouble, Richard caused himself to be appointed protector (1454). When the monarch on restoration to health tried to take away his powers, he took up arms. He was abetted by the high aristocracy, especially by Warwick, surnamed the King-Maker, who was rich enough to feed daily 30,000 persons on his estates. Victorious at Saint Albans (1455), the first battle in that war, and master of the king's person, Richard had Parliament again confer on him the title of protector. After a second battle at Northampton (1460), he was declared legitimate heir to the throne. Margaret protested in the name of her son. Aided by the support of Scotland which she purchased by the cession of Berwick castle, she defeated and slew Richard at Wakefield. The head of the rebel was adorned in derision with a paper crown, and exposed on the walls of York. His youngest son, the Earl of Rutland, aged barely eighteen, was butchered in cold blood. From that time on the massacre of prisoners, the proscription of the vanquished, and the confiscation of their goods became the rule with both parties.

Edward IV (1460).—Richard of York was avenged by his eldest son, who had himself proclaimed king in London under the name of Edward IV. The Lancastrians gained the second battle of Saint Albans, but suffered that same year (1461) a sanguinary defeat at Towton, southwest of York. Margaret took refuge in Scotland, and fled thence to France, where Louis lent her 2000 soldiers on her promise to restore Calais, but the battle of Hexham destroyed her hopes (1463). She herself was able to regain the continent, but Henry VI, a prisoner for the third time, was confined in the Tower of London, where he remained seven years.

The new king displeased Warwick, who rebelled, defeated him at Nottingham (1470), and forced him to flee to the Netherlands to his brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy. Parliament, docile to the will of the strongest, reëstablished Henry VI.

This triumph of the Lancastrians was brief. Their excesses roused bitter discontent. Edward was able to reappear with a small army, which Charles the Bold had helped him get together. Warwick fell at Barnet (1471) and Margaret was no more fortunate at Tewksbury. This last action had decisive results. The Prince of Wales murdered, Henry VI dead, Margaret a prisoner, the partisans of the Red Rose killed or exiled, Edward IV remained in peaceable possession of the throne. The rest of his reign was marked by an expedition to France, terminated by the treaty of Pecquigny, and by the trial of his brother Clarence, whom he put to death. He died in consequence of his debauches in 1483.

Richard III (1483).—His brother Richard of York, Duke of Gloucester, took advantage of the youth of Edward's children to usurp their rights, and smother them in the Tower of London. Horror of his crimes divided his followers. The Duke of Buckingham revolted and invited to England Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the last scion on the female side of the Lancastrian house. Henry hired 2000 men in Brittany, landed in Wales, and at Bosworth overthrew Richard, who fell fighting bravely (1485).

Henry VII.—He united the two Roses by wedding the heiress of York, the daughter of Edward IV. He founded the Tudor dynasty, which reigned until the accession of the Stuarts, 118 years afterward. Though a few plots were formed by such obscure impostors as Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he ruled as absolute master over the remnants of the decimated aristocracy. Eighty persons of royal blood had perished. Nearly one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom through confiscation had become part of the domains of the crown. Thus when the War of the Roses ended English royalty found increased resources at its disposal and fewer enemies to fear.

Henry VII rarely assembled Parliament. The money which he would not ask for fear of making himself dependent, he procured by forced loans or benevolences, and by confiscations, which he multiplied on every sort

of pretext. The Star Chamber became a servile tribunal to strike down those whom a jury would not have permitted him to reach. The ruin of the aristocracy was completed by the abolition of the rights of maintenance, whereby the nobles had been able to rally round them a whole army of followers, and of substitution, whereby the nobles had been prevented from alienating or dividing their lands. By the treaties which he concluded, by the voyages which he caused to be undertaken, and by his attention to the shipping, he favored commerce and industry, to which the nation devoted itself with zeal. He paved the way for the union of Scotland and England by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. He died in 1506. Perfidious, rapacious, and cruel, without loftiness of mind or action to redeem his vices, he founded like Louis XI in France and Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain an absolute government, which in England became truly great only under Elizabeth.

PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN SPAIN

Abandonment of the Crusade against the Moors.—The Spanish people had thus far remained almost entirely aloof from European affairs. They had been obliged to wrest their soil foot by foot from the Moors. That task, the first condition of their national existence, was not yet finished. The southern extremity of the peninsula still belonged to the Mussulmans and formed the kingdom of Granada, the last of the nine states into which the caliphate of Cordova had been broken. Thus Spain had lived a life apart throughout the Middle Ages. She had been engrossed in the single undertaking of expelling the Moors, odious both as Mussulmans and as foreigners. This isolation and this perpetual crusade gave her a peculiar character. Nowhere else has religion exercised such ascendency over the mind. It was the sole bond which united the various states of the peninsula.

We have seen however that, forgetting the Moors, the

four Christian states had diverted their attention and their forces in different directions: Portugal toward the ocean, Aragon toward Sicily and Italy, Navarre toward France, while Castile was rent by internal discords. Everywhere royalty was in a humiliating position. A spirit of independence reigned in the cities which had their fueros, and among the nobles who defended their privileges of war and brigandage. But the need of uniting for mutual protection against violence made itself felt as early as 1260 in the cities of Aragon, and afterward in those of Castile. The Santa Hermandad or Holy Brotherhood, a confederation of the principal cities, was instituted. This organization became so prosperous that it furnished the king at the siege of Granada 8000 armed men and 6000 beasts of burden.

Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile (1469).—In Aragon John II poisoned his son Charles, Prince of Viana, who disputed his claim to the kingdom of Navarre (1461). The Catalans, rising in revolt, gave themselves in succession to the king of Castile, to Pedro of Portugal, and to the house of Anjou. They submitted only after eleven years of war.

In Castile Henry IV rendered himself odious and despicable by his predilection for Bertrand de la Cueva, a greedy and cowardly favorite who disgraced him. The nobles went through the form of deposing the king in effigy in the plain of Avila, and in his place proclaimed Don Alphonso, who died in 1467. Then they forced Henry IV to recognize as princess of the Asturias his sister Isabella, to the prejudice of his own daughter (1468). From many suitors to her hand Isabella chose Ferdinand, the eldest son of the king of Aragon, and married him secretly at Valladolid (1469). It was stipulated in the contract that the government of Castile should remain vested exclusively in her. She took possession at the death of her father (1474) and strengthened her authority by defeating the king of Portugal, who undertook to dispute her rights. Three years afterward Ferdinand, her husband, became king of Aragon (1479).

Conquest of Granada (1492).—From that day Spain existed. The firm Isabella and the clever though perfidious Ferdinand toiled vigorously to establish national unity for the benefit of royalty. First of all, they made the whole peninsula Christian by destroying the last remnants of Mussulman domination. Granada had more than 200,000 inhabitants. The Moors were promised after the capture of their city (1492) that they should be allowed to remain in the country and enjoy their own laws, property, and religion.

The Inquisition. The Power of Royalty.—The population of the peninsula then presented a singular mixture of Mussulmans, Jews, and Christians. Isabella and Ferdinand decided to bring dissenters to a common religious faith by persuasion, and above all by terror. With this intent they had already instituted that tribunal of melancholy fame, the Holy Office or Inquisition, intended to enforce obedience to the "properly constituted authorities, divine and secular." It was established in Castile about 1480, and in Aragon four years later. Between January and November, 1481, in Seville alone the inquisitors sent to torture 298 Christian proselytes, accused of Judaizing in secret, and 2000 in the provinces of Cadiz and Seville. In 1492 they expelled the Jews, of whom 800,000 departed from Spain. In 1499 they deprived the Moors of the religious liberty which the treaty of Granada had guaranteed. Torquemada, the first grand inquisitor, alone condemned 8800 persons to the flames.

The king controlled the terrible tribunal, for he appointed its chief and the property of the condemned was confiscated to his use. Thus the Inquisition was for Spanish royalty not only a means of ruling the conscience but an instrument of government. Any rebellious or suspicious person could be denounced to the Holy Office. This was a mighty engine. Ferdinand acquired another together with considerable revenues by making himself grand master of the orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, and Saint James. He reorganized the Holy Brotherhood, announced himself its protector, that is to say its master, and employed it for the police

service of the country at the expense of the barons, whose castles he razed to the ground. In a single year forty-six fortresses were demolished in Galicia. Commissioners were sent into all the provinces, who listened to the complaints of the people and made the nobles tremble.

At the death of Isabella (1504) Ferdinand became regent of Castile. As king of Aragon, he acquired the Two Sicilies. The acquisition of Navarre put him in possession of one of the two gates of the Pyrenees. The other, Roussillon, had been ceded to him by Charles VIII (1493). Already Christopher Columbus had given America to the crown of Castile (1492). This immense heritage reverted on his death in 1516 to his grandson Charles, already master of Austria, the Netherlands, and Franche-Comté.

In the absence of the new king, Cardinal Ximenes exercised the power with an energy which forced obedience from the nobles. The communeros, taking alarm too late at the menacing progress of royalty, formed a Holy League, which committed the mistake of demanding the abolition of the pecuniary immunities of the nobility. The aristocracy separated its cause from that of the cities and rallied around the sovereign. The army of the League was routed at Villalar and its leader, Don Juan de Padilla, died on the scaffold (1521). Thus Spanish royalty triumphed over the burgher class as it had triumphed over the nobles, but the nation was about to lose its wealth, its vigor, and its honor for the sake of serving the ambition of its masters.

Progress of Royalty in Portugal.—In Portugal the same revolution was accomplished. John II restored alienated property to the royal domain, withdrew from the lords the right of life and death over their vassals, sent the Duke of Braganza to the scaffold, and stabbed the Duke of Viseu with his own hand. He transmitted absolute power to his son Manuel the Fortunate (1495), who during twenty years did not assemble the Cortes. Under the latter prince the Portuguese discovered the road to the Cape of Good Hope and the Indies.

Thus throughout all Western Europe royalty became

predominant. This condition indicated the approach of great wars. Because the countries of Central Europe remained divided, they were to become the battlefield of royal ambitions.

GERMANY AND ITALY FROM 1453 TO 1494

Frederick III (1440) **and Maximilian** (1493).—In Germany the house of Austria had just recovered possession of the imperial crown (1438), to which hardly a shadow of authority was attached. Frederick III was not a man to modify this state of affairs, but was content with bare existence. His reign of fifty-three years is marked only by an unfortunate war against Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and by the marriage of his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold and heiress of the Netherlands.

Maximilian endeavored to restore the public peace in Germany. The Diet, which exercised legislative power, prohibited all war between the states. The empire was divided into ten circles, in each of which a military director was charged with maintaining order. This police organization did not succeed, because the German princes had no idea of being checked in their enterprises. They had seized upon the absolute power in their lands, as the kings had done in their kingdoms. The monarchical revolution accomplished in France, England, and Spain had also taken place in the empire, but not to the profit of the emperor. In 1502 the seven electors concluded the Electoral Union and decided to convene every year for the purpose of consultation as to the best means of preserving their independence from imperial authority. With another object in view several of the cities had already set up the Hanseatic League. This was the mercantile association of all the cities along the banks of the Rhine and the German coast. It had counting houses in the Netherlands, France, England, and even in the heart of Russia, and was prosperous for centuries.

As archduke of Austria and sovereign of the Nether-

lands, Maximilian acquired by the treaty of Senlis (1493) Artois and Franche-Comté. But the most important event in his reign was the marriage of his son Philip the Fair with Jane the Foolish, daughter of Isabella of Castile and of Ferdinand of Aragon, who brought to the house of Austria as her dowry Spain, Naples, and the New World. Maximilian died (1519) during the first throes of the Reformation.

Italy. Republics Replaced by Principalities.—In the middle of the twelfth century Italy was the center of Mediterranean commerce. She had a fine agricultural system and well developed manufactures. She was rich, luxurious, and corrupt, with a passion for arts and letters but no taste for arms. More divided than Germany, she had not even a nominal head like the emperor, nor a body like the Diet which could sometimes speak in her name. Almost universally the republics had been changed into principalities, whose princes reigned as tyrants or magnificent despots. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans caused a momentary panic, and the different states of Italy formed a confederation at Lodi (1454). Men talked of a crusade. Pius II wished "the bell of the Turks" to be rung every morning throughout Christendom. But when the first moment of fright was over, each one went back to his own private interests.

At Milan the condottiere Francesco Sforza, who had succeeded the Visconti in 1450, left the ducal crown to his son, who was assassinated by the nobles (1476). His grandson Giovanni Galeazzo, a child of eight years, fell under the tutelage of his uncle Ludovico il Moro, who for the sake of usurping the power was destined to call in the French and begin the fatal Italian wars. Genoa incessantly disturbed by factions offered itself to Louis XI, who had the wisdom to refuse the fatal gift and transfer it to the Duke of Milan. The Lombards, as the inhabitants of that rich duchy were called, continued to be the bankers of Europe, and their agents were found everywhere in the commercial world.

Venice remained the chief power in northern Italy. No republic could more closely resemble a monarchy.

After 1454 its exclusive oligarchy was governed by three state inquisitors, who watched each other and made their own laws. The state existed tranquilly in the lap of pleasure under this strong but pitiless government, whose principal instruments of action were spies and secret accusation. Proveditors kept watch of the generals, who were carefully chosen from among the foreign mercenaries or condottieri, so that she might have nothing to fear from them at home. On the continent she had just subjugated four provinces, while the Turks were ruining her domination in the East. She lost Negropont and Scutari and beheld their swift horsemen threaten her lagoons. In order to save their commerce the Venetians consented to pay tribute to the new masters of Constantinople. When they were taunted with this disgrace, they replied, " We are Venetians first of all, Christians afterward." In Italy the wealth of the " Most Serene Republic " excited the covetousness of the neighboring princes, while her recent acquisitions endangered their security. In 1482 they formed a league against her, but she triumphed over the excommunications of the Pope and over the arms of his allies.

At Florence the Medici had supplanted the Albizzi by relying on the Minor Arts, or the middle class. They were rich bankers with many debtors in the city whom they held attached to their fortune. Cosmo de Medici, the head of this house, was master of Florence until 1464, though he bore no title. He made commerce, manufactures, arts, and letters to thrive, and expended more than $6,000,000 in building palaces, hospitals, and libraries, though continuing to live like a private citizen. He was surnamed the " Father of the Country." Liberty no longer existed. The nobles tried to restore it by the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478), and assassinated Giuliano de Medici at the foot of the altar. Lorenzo, his brother, who escaped the dagger, punished the murderers. Lorenzo, the most illustrious of the Medici, welcomed the Greek fugitives from Constantinople. He had a translation of Plato made, an edition of Homer published, and encouraged artists and learned men. Ghiberti cast for him the doors of the Baptistery of San

Giovanni, which Michael Angelo deemed "worthy to be the gates of Paradise." In 1490, ruined by his magnificence, he was about to suspend payment. To save him the republic became bankrupt herself.

Under Pietro II, his unworthy successor, a new popular party, the frateschi, demanded public liberty. Its leader, the Dominican monk, Girolamo Savonarola, labored to restore to the clergy purity of manners, to the people their ancient institutions, and to letters and the arts the religious sentiment which they had already lost.

The papacy was unable to be of public service, because the Holy See was occupied by popes who disgraced the tiara. Thus Sixtus IV busied himself in carving a principality in the Romagna for his nephew, and to attain success had taken part in the conspiracy of the Pazzi. Alexander VI Borgia is the scandal and the sorrow of the Church. His election had been defiled by simony. His pontificate was polluted by debauchery, perfidy, and cruelty. He indeed delivered the Holy See from the many turbulent petty lords who infested the neighborhood of Rome, but his weapons for their overthrow were ruse, treason, and assassination. His son, Cæsar Borgia, is an infamous example of a man devoured with ambition and destitute of scruples, marching to his goal by any road. To create for himself a state in the Romagna, he waged against the lords of that country the same sort of war that his father had carried on against those of the papal states. No crime troubled him, whether by dagger or poison. More than any other man he contributed to earn for Italy the surname which was then applied to her of the "Poisonous."

At Naples Ferdinand in 1459 had succeeded Alphonso the Magnanimous. He triumphed at Troia over John of Calabria, his Angevine rival, but he seemed desirous of bringing about a new revolution by reviving hatreds instead of effacing them. The harshness of his rule stirred up his barons against him. He deceived them by promises, invited them to a banquet of reconciliation, then had them seized at his very table and put to death. The common people fared no better. Ferdinand claimed

the monopoly of all the commerce of the kingdom and crushed the people with taxes. He did not prevent the Ottomans from seizing Otranto and the Venetians from taking Gallipoli and Policastro. The profound contempt which he excited explains how subsequently Charles VIII could drive him from his kingdom of Naples without breaking a lance. All the Italian states from one end of the peninsula to the other were in the same condition.

THE OTTOMAN TURKS

(1453-1520)

Military Organization of the Ottomans. Mohammed II. —The Ottomans were apparently the foe Italy had most to dread. By the conquest of Constantinople they had definitely established themselves in the great peninsula which separates the Adriatic and Black Seas. Mohammed II was obeyed from Belgrade on the Danube to the Taurus in Asia Minor. But this mighty empire had two classes of enemies. On the west were the various Christian nations, and on the east the Persian schismatics. These two parties by taking turns at fighting the Ottomans were to keep them within bounds. The one checked their progress on the Tigris, and the other along the lower valley of the Danube.

The Ottoman government was like that of all Asiatic peoples, despotism tempered by insurrection and assassination. Nevertheless, above the Sultan or Padishah was the Koran, whose interpreters, the Sheik ul Islam and the Ulema, often won the ear of the ruler or of the people. The Turkish armies were then stronger than those of the Christians. Their most effective force consisted of 40,000 janissaries, a regular and permanent troop. The Christians had as yet hardly more than the feudal militia. Moreover the Sultan could quickly raise 100,000 men from the timariots, or lands given for life on condition of military service. They thoroughly understood the art of fortification and possessed an unequaled artillery. These efficient means of action

were put in play for two centuries by ten successive and energetic princes. Above all account must be taken of the religious fanaticism and martial ardor of a race which also saw its victories fruitful in acquisition of lands and wealth. It is not difficult to explain the rapid progress of the Ottomans.

After making Constantinople his capital, Mohammed II undertook the subjugation of Hungary and Austria. But he was hurled back in 1456 by Hunyadi from the walls of Belgrade. He then attacked the remnants of the Greek Empire and seized Athens, Lesbos, the Morea, and Trebizond. Christendom ought to have united in one common effort. Pope Pius II demanded it. But the sovereigns were busy about other things. Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, who was most endangered, and Frederick III, emperor of Germany, were warring against each other. Corvinus did at least force the Turks to a halt on the Danube. But the Albanian Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, was their one persistent enemy. During twenty-three years he fought them without repose and gained more than twenty battles. His death in 1468 and the fall of Croïa, his capital, delivered Albania into their hands. Two years afterward they wrested Negropont from the Venetians. They also triumphed over the Tartar Ouzoun Hassan, who had just founded in Persia the dynasty of the White Sheep, and was stirred up against them by Pope Paul II.

Fortunately the Moldavians on the lower Danube, the Albanians, and some Greek mountaineers compelled Mohammed II to divide his forces. Although he had sworn to feed his horse with oats on the altar of Saint Peter's in Rome, he could undertake no serious enterprise against Italy. The surprise of Otranto by his fleet was hardly more than a bold and sudden raid by sea (1480). When his horsemen came and burned villages within sight of Venice, that republic took alarm. She sued for peace, ceded Scutari on the coast of the Adriatic, and promised an annual tribute. Mohammed II was heading a great expedition, the object of which was known only to himself, when death overtook him in 1481 at the age of fifty-three.

Bayezid II (1481) and Selim I the Ferocious (1512).— His son, Bayezid II, was a scholar rather than a soldier. Moreover he was forced to consult prudence, inasmuch as his brother Zizim after an unsuccessful rebellion had escaped as a fugitive to the Knights of Rhodes. By them he had been delivered into the hands of Pope Alexander VI. As long as Zizim was with the Christians, he was a constant menace to his brother. Yet despite his pacific inclination, it was necessary to keep the janissaries busy and somehow win their favor. So Bayezid sent them to conquer Bosnia, Croatia, and Moldavia on the left bank of the Danube, where the Ottomans already possessed Wallachia. The soldiers became discontented with their indolent Sultan and placed his son Selim on the throne. At once the movement of conquest resumed its course. The new monarch attacked Persia, beginning the religious war by the massacre of 40,000 Shiite Mussulmans who inhabited his states. A bloody battle near Tauris was indecisive, but he soon subjugated the provinces of Diarbekir, Ourfa, and Mossoul, which extended the Turkish Empire as far as the Tigris (1518). Syria belonged to the Mamelukes of Egypt. Selim attacked them. He defeated them at Aleppo, at Gaza, and finally on the banks of the Nile, where the Copts and fellahs, downtrodden by the Mamelukes, welcomed him as a liberator. Moutawakkel, caliph of Cairo, confided to him the Standard of the Prophet and resigned the religious authority into his hands. The Arab tribes in their turn submitted. The scherif of Mecca came to offer the conqueror the keys of the Kaaba. Thus the Sultan became the Commander of the Faithful, the spiritual as well as the temporal chief of the Mussulmans.

By this conquest the road to the East by way of Egypt was closed to Europeans. This was the deathblow of Venice. Master of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, Selim also held in its western basin the strong fortress of Algiers, which the pirate Horouk, surnamed Barbarossa, had wrested from Spain and placed under his protection in return for the title of Bey (1518). From that time until 1830 Algiers was a nest of pirates who preyed upon European commerce.

Abominable cruelties accompanied the conquests of Selim and earned for him the surname of the Ferocious. He died in 1520 and had for his successor Souleïman the Magnificent, the worthy rival of his illustrious contemporaries Charles V and Francis I.

WARS IN ITALY. CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

Consequences of the Political Revolution in European Wars.—One general fact had been evolved during the second half of the fifteenth century. It was that society in all the states had reverted to a form of government, lost since the Roman Empire and based upon the absolute power of kings. This is the political side of the revolution in progress. It was to effect the arts, sciences, and literatures, and even for a part of Europe the beliefs, at the same time that it modified institutions. The inevitable consequence of this first transformation, which places the peoples with their wealth and forces at the disposal of their sovereigns, will be to imbue the kings with the desire of aggrandizing their dominions. Thus European wars are about to follow feudal wars, just as kings have followed nobles. France, the first ready, is also the first in the endeavor to emerge from her frontiers.

Expedition of Charles VIII into Italy (1494).—The prudent Louis XI had been careful not to assert the rights which the house of Anjou had bequeathed him over the kingdom of Naples. His son, Charles VIII, revived these claims with ambitious projects. Not to be hampered in the execution of plans which he thought would carry him from Naples to Constantinople, and from Constantinople to Jerusalem, he abandoned Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, and Franche-Comté, Charolais, and Artois to Maximilian. He crossed the Alps at Mount Ginevra and was well received at Turin and in the duchy of Milan, where Ludovico il Moro then needed his support against the Neapolitans. He forced Pietro de Medici to deliver to

him Sarzana and Pietra Santa, the two fortresses of the Apennines, and arrived without encountering any obstacle at Florence, which he entered as a conqueror. But when he demanded a war contribution, the inhabitants threatened a riot and he withdrew. At Rome the cardinals and nobles, who had been harshly treated by Alexander VI, opened the gates to the French, and Charles entered the capital without breaking a lance (1495). There he had himself crowned King of Naples, Emperor of the East, and King of Jerusalem. He speedily alienated all parties.

While he gave himself up to festivity, in his rear Venice formed a league against him, which included Ludovico il Moro, Pope Alexander VI, Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Henry VII of England. Forty thousand men lay in wait for him at the foot of the Apennines. Being warned, he hastily marched northward, leaving in the south 11,000 men. The battle of Fornovo reopened his road to the Alps, but Italy was lost and no fruit remained from this brilliant expedition.

Italy freed from the foreigner returned to her domestic quarrels. Ludovico implored the aid of the Emperor Maximilian, who suffered a ridiculous defeat before Leghorn. In the Romagna civil war continued between the Pope and the barons, in Tuscany between Pisa and Florence, in Florence itself between the partisans and the enemies of Savonarola. The latter perished at the stake (1498), but his death did not restore harmony.

Louis XII (1498). **Conquest of Milan and Naples.**—Louis XII, grandson of a brother of Charles VI, succeeded his cousin, whose widow he married to prevent her carrying Brittany to another house. He inherited not only the claims of Charles VIII to Naples, but also those of his grandmother, Valentine Visconti, to Milanese territory which had been usurped by the Sforza. Cajoling or bribing the neutrality or support of Cæsar Borgia, Venice, and Florence, he sent Trivulcio, an Italian mercenary, to conquer Milan. Ludovico il Moro lost, regained, and again lost the city, but was finally betrayed by his troops and was confined in France in

the castle of Loches. Now master of Milan, Louis sought to acquire the kingdom of Naples without striking a blow. Therefore he shared it in advance with Ferdinand the Catholic. He reserved for himself the title of King, together with the Abruzzi, Terra di Lavoro, and the capital. Ferdinand asked nothing but Apulia and Calabria. The unfortunate Frederick, king of Naples, finding himself betrayed by the Spaniard Gonsalvo of Cordova, placed himself at the mercy of the king of France, who offered him a retreat on the banks of the Loire. But when the conquest was made, disputes soon arose between the Spaniards and the French. Perilous negotiations gave Gonsalvo time to bring up his troops. The French generals were everywhere defeated and their forces again evacuated the kingdom (1504).

To retain at least the Milanese territory, Louis XII signed the disastrous treaty of Blois. He came to Naples he renounced in favor of Prince Charles, the sovereign of the Netherlands, who was destined to become Charles V of Germany. It was stipulated that Charles should wed Madame Claude, the daughter of the king. The dowry of the bride was to be Burgundy and Brittany. Public opinion cried out against this marriage, so Louis assembled the States General. They declared that the two provinces were inalienable, and implored the king to betroth his daughter to the presumptive heir, Francis, Duke of Angoulême.

League of Cambray (1508). **The Holy League** (1511). —Julius II succeeded Alexander VI. This warlike Pope undertook to expel from Italy those whom he called barbarians. He also aimed at humbling Venice and at rendering the Holy See the dominating power of the peninsula. First he managed to unite everyone against Venice. Louis XII wished to recover from that republic the places formerly acquired from the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand the Catholic claimed from it several maritime cities of the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor Maximilian was desirous of extending his sway in Friuli. All the jealousies and desires coalesced therefore in 1508, **at Cambray.**

At Agnadello Louis gained over the Venetians a vic-

tory which permitted his allies to fill their hands with Venetian booty. Thereupon the Pope promptly turned this league against his successful confederate, and formed the Holy League to expel the French from Italy. Setting an example, in person he stormed the cities and entered them through the breach. Louis assembled at Pisa a council to depose him. Julius convoked another council at the Lateran, which excommunicated the king, and drew into alliance all the Catholic powers, even including the Swiss, upon whom Louis was lavishing his money.

Invasion of France (1513). **Treaties of Peace** (1514). —At first France was victorious, thanks to the talents of the youthful Gaston de Foix, who drove the Swiss back to their mountains, captured Brescia from the Venetians, and defeated all the allies at Ravenna. But he was slain in that last battle. Under his successor, La Palisse, the French retreated to the Alps. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico il Moro, reëntered Milan. Then France was invaded from three sides. Ferdinand the Catholic threatened French Navarre. The English and Germans routed the French cavalry at the battle of the Spurs. Lastly, the Swiss penetrated as far as Dijon, and their withdrawal was purchased by payment in gold. The only ally of France was James IV, king of Scotland. He shared her evil fortune and was defeated and slain at Flodden Field by the English. Louis begged a truce from his enemies. He disavowed the council of Pisa, and persuaded Henry VIII to return to his island, promising a pension of 100,000 crowns for ten years. Thus, after fifteen years of war, after immense loss of blood and money, France was no farther advanced than when the reign of Charles VIII began. Louis died on January 1, 1515. His domestic administration had been superior to his foreign policy. He created two parliaments, one in Provence and another in Normandy, suppressed the use of Latin in criminal procedure, stopped pillage by soldiers, and caused commerce and agriculture to thrive. So he has been surnamed the Father of his People.

OMIC REVOLUTION

ape of Good Hope (1497).—The end
is marked, not only by the destruc-
forms hitherto prevalent, but also by
s revolution in commercial affairs, which
the discovery of America and of the
e Indies around the Cape of Good Hope.
that time, commerce had followed the routes
out by the Greeks and the Romans. The prod-
ts of the East reached Europe by the Red Sea and Egypt, or through Persia and the Black Sea. But the peoples who bordered on the Atlantic had long been turning their gaze toward the mysterious expanse of its unknown waters. They had become familiar with its tempests and had gained confidence in the compass. The Normans had been the first to enter upon the path of maritime discoveries along the western coast of Africa. There the Portuguese, more advantageously situated, followed and outstripped them. In 1472 they crossed the equator. In 1486 Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape of Storms, which King John II more wisely named the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama soon sailed round the African continent and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast (1498). Later on Camoens, in his *Lusiad*, painted this heroic expedition. At Calicut Alvarez Cabral founded the first European establishment in the Indies. On the way thither he had been cast upon the coast of Brazil.

Colonial Empire of the Portuguese.—The true creator of the Portuguese colonies was Albuquerque. By the capture of Socotora and Ormuz, he closed the ancient routes of Indian commerce to the Mussulmans and to Venice. He gave to Portuguese India its capital by taking possession of Goa (1510). He conquered Malacca and secured the alliance of the kings of Siam and Pegu and the possession of the Molucca Islands. While preparing one expedition against Egypt and another against Arabia, where he wished to destroy Mecca and Medina,

he was accused unjustly and disgraced (1515). The conquest continued under John de Castro, who seized Cambaye. Japan was discovered by the western world in 1542, and a trading station set up opposite Canton in the island of Sanciam. Goa was the center of Portuguese domination. The other principal points in their empire were Mozambique, Sofala, and Melinda on the African coast, whence they obtained gold-dust and ivory; Muscat and Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, whither came the products of Central Asia; Diu, on the coast of Malabar; Negapatam, on that of Coromandel; Malacca, in the peninsula of the same name, which threw into their hands the commerce of the countries of Indo-China; and the Moluccas, where they occupied Ternate and Timor, and whence they exported spices. Their trading stations on the western coast of Africa and on the Congo were of no importance until after the establishment of the slave trade. For a long time, the only colonists whom Brazil received were criminals and deported Jews.

Christopher Columbus. Colonial Empire of the Spaniards.—The discovery of America had taken place earlier, in 1492. The Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus, engrossed with the idea that India must extend far toward the west as a counterbalance to the European continent, hoped to reach its furthest shore by directing his course westward across the Atlantic. Rebuffed as a visionary by the Senate of Genoa and by the king of Portugal, as well as for a time by the court of Spain, he succeeded in obtaining from Isabella three small vessels. After sailing for two months he landed on October 12, 1492, in Guanahani, one of the West Indian Islands, which he named San Salvador. Only during his third voyage in 1498 did he touch the continent, without knowing it, and on the fourth in 1502 discovered the coast of Colombia. He still believed that he had reached the shores of India. Hence was derived the name, West Indies, which long prevailed. The name America refers to Amerigo Vespucci, who merely enjoyed the inferior distinction of landing on the mainland before Columbus and describing the continent by his maps and writings.

The route once found, discoveries followed each other in rapid succession. In 1513 Balboa traversed the Isthmus of Panama and caught sight of the Great Ocean, now the Pacific. In 1518 Grijalva discovered Mexico, of which Fernando Cortés effected the conquest (1519-1521). In 1520 Magellan reached the strait between South America and Tierra del Fuego to which his name has been given. He traversed the Pacific Ocean, where he died, and his comrades returned to Spain by way of the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope. They were the first to make the circuit of the globe. The adventurers, Almagro and Pizarro, gave to the crown of Spain Peru and Chili. Others founded on the opposite coast Buenos Ayres, at the mouth of the Plata. In 1534 Cartier discovered Canada for France.

The Portuguese colonies rapidly declined. They were only a line of trading posts along the coasts of Africa and Hindustan, without power of resistance, because few Portuguese settled there. The Spanish colonies, which in the beginning aimed not so much at commerce as at the development of the mines, on the contrary attracted many Spaniards to the New World, and formed in America a compact domination, divided into the two governments of Mexico and Lima. At the present day Mexico and South America are dominated by Spanish blood, while Brazil is Portuguese.

Results of the Discoveries.—These discoveries threw open to the industrious activity of the men of the West both a New World and also that East where so much idle wealth was locked up. They changed the course and form of trade. For land commerce, which hitherto had held first rank, maritime commerce was about to be substituted. As a result the cities of the interior were to decline and those on the coast to expand. Moreover commercial importance passed from the countries bathed by the Mediterranean to the countries situated on the Atlantic, from the Italians to the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and later on from these latter to the Dutch and the English. Not only did these peoples grow rich, but they were enriched in a peculiar manner. The mines of Mexico and Peru threw into European circula-

tion an enormous mass of specie. Industry, commerce, and agriculture developed on receiving the capital which they required in order to thrive. "The third part of the kingdom of France," says a writer of the sixteenth century, "was put under cultivation in the course of a few years." All this created a new power in personal wealth which fell into the hands of the burgher class, and which in after centuries was to battle with the landed wealth still remaining in the hands of the lords.

By means of the posting stations which Louis XI had organized, and the canals with locks which Venice began to construct in 1481, communication became more rapid and more easy. When to the letters of exchange, devised by the Jews in the Middle Ages for the purpose of saving their fortunes from their persecutors, were added the deposit and credit banks, instituted by the Hanse, the Lombards, and the Tuscans, capital circulated as easily as produce. We have already seen a banker, Cosmo de Medici, become a prince. Lastly, the system of insurance, practiced first at Barcelona and Florence, and later on at Bruges, began the great system of guarantees which at the present day gives to commerce such audacity and security. Thus labor was making for itself a place in the new society. Through it, by means of order, economy, and intelligence, the descendants of the slaves of antiquity and of the serfs of the Middle Ages became the leaders of the industrial world and masters of money, and were one day to find themselves the equals of the ancient masters of the land.

THE REVOLUTION IN ARTS AND LETTERS, OR THE RENAISSANCE

The Invention of Printing.—The ardor which impelled men of action to abandon beaten paths and rush into unexplored ways was shared by men of learning. They also aspired after another world. They sought it, not in front but in the rear. Like Columbus, they thought

they were only traveling toward the old land, but on their route thither they, like him, found a new one.

Weary of the vain disputes of scholasticism and the quibbles of a school which its barbarous Latin speech rendered obscure, they threw themselves toward the half-extinguished lights of antiquity. They ransacked the monastic libraries, those precious storehouses of old books. The discovery of a Greek or Latin manuscript, or of an antique statue, caused as much joy as a victory. But only a few men would have profited by the new spirit, which reviving antiquity was breathing upon the world, had not an invention appeared by means of which the treasures, otherwise reserved to a small number, could become the domain of all. Gutenberg created printing by devising movable characters. As early as 1455, the first printed book made its appearance. This was a Bible. The new art spread rapidly throughout all Christian Europe, and the price of books marvelously decreased. In 1500 Aldus Manutius at Venice placed on sale a whole collection of ancient authors at about fifty cents the volume. A single bookseller of Paris, Josse Bade, published as many as 400 works, the majority in folio. In 1529, the *Colloquia* of Erasmus was printed in an edition of 24,000 copies. Thus eager were people to learn, "for they began to perceive that they had been living in mental slavery as well as in bodily servitude."

The ancients wrote upon parchment or papyrus, both materials of great cost, the Chinese upon silk, the Arabs of Damascus upon cotton, the Spanish Arabs upon a paper made from flax and hemp. Thus the printers, at the very beginning of their labors, had at their disposal a low-priced product which could receive the imprint of the characters.

Renaissance of Letters.—Italy eagerly seized upon the new invention. Before the year 1470, there were already printers at Rome, Venice, and Milan. Everywhere schools, libraries, and universities were founded. The ancient authors were published and translated. Not only the Fathers of the Church were published to uphold the faith, but also the orators, historians, and philosophers. Thereby faith was exposed to peril, for thus were opened

to the mind new horizons where reason was to seek and find its domain. Pope Julius II was not always surrounded by captains and diplomats. Quite as many learned men and artists were to be seen at his side. "Polite letters," he said, "are the silver of plebeians, the gold of nobles, the diamonds of princes." The day on which the Laocoon was discovered in the Baths of Titus, he caused the bells of all the churches in Rome to be rung. Leo X paid 500 sequins for five books in manuscript of Titus Livius, and was the friend as well as the patron of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

At that period only three countries thought and produced. Italy was foremost, with Ariosto, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and all her artistic genuises. France came second, with Marot, Rabelais, Calvin, Amyot, Montaigne, and a host of learned men or jurisconsults whose fame still endures, like Cujas, Pithou, Godefroy, and Dumoulin. Germany stood third, with Ulric von Hutten, the cobbler-poet Hans Sachs, and the Ciceronians, with Luther and his Latin writings at the head. The Netherlands presented Erasmus, a hardy thinker but timid-hearted man, whose Latin works enjoyed an immense success. As for England, she was healing the wounds inflicted by the War of the Roses. Spain's eyes were turned far less upon antiquity than toward America and her mines, toward Italy and the Netherlands, where the bands of Charles V so loved to indulge in war and pillage.

Renaissance of Arts.—Italy was their natural cradle, since there the finest remains of ancient art were to be found. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Brunelleschi substituted the rounded for the pointed arch, and for the tortured lines of the florid Gothic, the straight line of the Greek temples or the elegant curve of the Roman dome. For Julius II Bramante constructed Saint Peter's at Rome, which Michael Angelo crowned with the immense cupola, the idea of which he had derived from the Pantheon of Agrippa. The sculptors of Florence and Rome were unable to excel their classic rivals, but Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Titian far surpassed their most

illustrious predecessors and created painting, which with music has remained the distinctive modern art.

In the field of the arts, Italy in the sixteenth century was the teacher of the nations. France followed her closely. Her architects reared many châteaux and palaces, the Louvre, the Tuileries, Fontainebleau, Blois, and Chambord, where elegance and grace are blended with strength. Two French sculptors are still famous, Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon. Germany had but two painters, Albert Dürer and Holbein. Engraving, recently invented, multiplied the masterpieces of the artists, just as printing had popularized masterpieces in literature, and Palestrina began the great school of music.

Renaissance in Science.—Science was still hesitating between the dreams of the Middle Ages and the stern reason which guides it at the present day. Men did not know that the physical world is subject to changeless laws. They continued to believe in capricious powers, in magicians and sorcerers, whom they burned by thousands. At Würzburg 158 persons were sent to the stake in the course of two years (1527-1528). But Italy had several geometers, and as early as 1507 the Pole, Copernicus, discovered the truth concerning the planetary system.

Thus, while the navigators were opening new worlds to human activity and through artists and learned men modern genius was acquiring fresh vigor from the ancients, science was assigning its place to the sun and to the earth and the planets their parts in the universe. Is it a marvel that the century which beheld these mighty results of audacity and intelligence should have abandoned itself to the resistless power of thought?

THE REVOLUTION IN CREEDS, OR THE REFORMATION

The Clergy in the Sixteenth Century.—By its reverence for the two antiquities, the sacred and profane, which had just been as it were rediscovered, the literature of the sixteenth century led to the religious Reformation, whose true character was a mixture of the reasoning spirit borrowed from the pagans, and of theological ardor derived from the Bible and the Fathers. The prime author of this revolution was the clergy itself. What was there in common between the Church of the early days, poor, humble, ardent, and the opulent, lordly, indolent Church of Leo X, who lived like a gentleman of the Renaissance, with huntsmen, artists, and poets, rather than with theologians? And of those bishop-princes who had armies, and of those monks who were so vicious and so ignorant, what was not said? For a long time the most devout had been demanding the reform of the Church in its head and its members.

Luther (1517).—The strife began with the pamphlets of Erasmus and Hutten. It became serious only when Luther had drawn the theologians into the lists after him. This son of a Saxon miner of Eisleben was an Augustinian monk. He became the most esteemed doctor of the University of Wittenberg. During a journey to Rome he beheld the disorders of the Church. The scandal of indulgences, whence Leo X sought money for the completion of Saint Peter's, led him to examine the very principles of this doctrine. Finding the system of indulgences contrary to the teachings of the primitive Church, he fought against it. The Dominican Tetzel was the broker of these spiritual wares in Germany. Luther nailed to the doors of the church in Wittenberg ninety-five propositions concerning indulgences. Tetzel replied by 110 counter propositions. The battle had begun.

At first Leo X would see in it nothing but a quarrel between monks and sent to Germany the legate Cajetano

to bring them to their senses. Luther appealed from the legate to the Pope, then from the Pope to a future council. Finally, rejecting even the authority of councils, or of all human utterances as opposed to the Word of God, as set forth in the Gospels and as he understood it, he admitted no other law for the believer than the very text of Scripture.

Thus Luther "plunged into schism." The Roman Catholic faith was nourished from the two sources of Scripture and tradition. He denied the latter source. Retaining the former, he admitted no mediator between him and the sacred text to interpret the latter and solve its difficulties. He beheld in the Scriptures neither the authority of the Pope, nor sacraments, nor monastic vows. Hence he rejected them. The Church on becoming organized had taught that even a society of believers is impossible unless its members think that they are bound to add to the merits of their faith those of their works. Luther, an ardent monk, and a theologian reared in the spirit of Saint Paul and Saint Augustine, did not hesitate before the formidable problem of grace. In his book *On Christian Liberty,* addressed to the Pope in 1520, he immolated the free will of man, and grace became the essential principle of faith. Calvin later deduced from this the doctrine of predestination. Leo X excommunicated the bold innovator, who nevertheless was simply looking backward, and returning to the apostolic age. Luther returning blow for blow publicly burned the papal bull (1520). He was protected by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. When Charles V in order to win over the Catholics cited him to appear before the Diet of Worms, he boldly presented himself. He was so well defended that the Church did not dare seize him as it had formerly seized John Huss and send him to the stake. The elector prudently had him carried off and kept under guard at the Castle of the Wartburg, whence Luther stirred up all Germany by his pamphlets.

In reality, the reformer was serving well the interests of the princes. He restored to their hands the direction of religious affairs. The secularization of church prop-

erty tempted their greed. In 1525 the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order declared himself the Hereditary Duke of Prussia. Already the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Zell, and a great number of imperial cities, had embraced the Reformation and at the same time seized the ecclesiastical domains situated in their territories.

The people wished to have its share in this immense booty. In Suabia and Thuringia the peasants rose, not to hasten the reform in the Church, but to accomplish that of society, wherein they meant to establish absolute equality and community of goods. Luther himself preached against them a war of extermination and those wretched persons perished by thousands (1525).

This savage demagogy, which appeared again with the Anabaptists of Munster, frightened everyone, but especially the Catholics. The Diet of Spires forbade the propagation of the new doctrines (1529). The followers of the Reformation protested against this decree in the name of liberty of conscience, and hence received the name of Protestants. In the following year, they published at Augsburg a confession of their belief which has remained the creed and the bond of all Luther's followers (1530).

Thanks to Francis I and to Suleïman, the emperor was occupied in defending himself on all his frontiers. He shrank from creating for himself a new enemy in the heart of the empire by attacking the Reformers. He avoided such risk until after the battle of Crespy and the death of the king of France. The victory of Mühlberg (1547) seemed to place Germany at his discretion. In order to impose religious peace he promulgated the Interim at Augsburg, which displeased both parties and reduced the German princes to the powerlessness of French or English nobles. The supreme power of Charles V was overthrown by the alliance of the Protestants with the king of France, Henry II. Maurice of Saxony came near capturing the emperor at Innsbruck (1551), and the peace of Augsburg granted the Reformers entire liberty of conscience (1555).

The Lutheran Reformation in the Scandinavian States. —At that period the new doctrines had already triumphed through almost all Northern Europe. Gustavus Vasa, who had delivered Sweden from the Danish domination, welcomed them as a means of humbling the episcopal aristocracy and of raising himself to absolute power.

In Denmark on the contrary the revolution was effected in the interests of the secular aristocracy, which suppressed the States General, held royalty in tutelage for 120 years, and crushed the people under a harsh despotism.

The Reformation in Switzerland. Zwingli (1517). **Calvin** (1536).—In Switzerland the Reformation was born as early as in Germany. In 1517 Zwingli declared that the Gospel was the only rule of faith. The evangelical religion spread in German Switzerland, except in the original cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which remained faithful to the ancient faith. The war, which broke out in 1531, and in which Zwingli perished, was favorable to the Catholics. Each canton still remained sovereign as to regulating its worship, but the evangelical doctrine was expelled from the common possessions. This was a defeat for Protestantism. On the other hand, it acquired Geneva, which had long been discontented with its bishop, its temporal sovereign, and was divided between the so-called parties of the Mamelukes and the Huguenots. Thanks to the support of Berne, the Huguenot party carried the day and maintained the independence of the city against Savoy (1536).

At this juncture John Calvin arrived. He was a Frenchman from Noyon, who had just published a remarkable book, *The Christian Institutes,* wherein he condemned everything which did not seem to him prescribed by the Gospel, while Luther, less audacious, allowed everything to subsist which did not appear to him positively contrary to it. The eloquence, the austerity of Calvin's life, and his radical doctrines gave him in Geneva an authority which he used to convert that joyous city into a somber cloister, where every frivolous

word or deed was punished as a crime. A poet was beheaded for his verses. Michael Servetus was burned for having thought otherwise concerning the Trinity than his spiritual director. But none the less, Geneva became the citadel, and as it were the sanctuary of the Calvinistic Reformation.

The Reformation in the Netherlands, France, Scotland, and England.—The seventeen provinces of the Low Countries formed a federated state under the direction of an Austrian or a Spanish governor. Each had its own constitution and its assembly. These free institutions, the independent spirit of the population, and its nearness to Germany favored the propagation in that country of Luther's Reformation. Charles V stifled it by the horrors of a special inquisition, which punished with death more than 30,000 persons. But Lutheranism gave way to Calvinism, which had come from Switzerland by way of Alsace, or from England, during the reign of Edward VI, and which spread rapidly throughout the Dutch provinces.

Protestantism was not established in France until comparatively late. The Sorbonne refuted the new doctrines and the law suppressed them by force. Moreover there had been fewer abuses among the Gallican clergy, as they had possessed little wealth or power. Though many provincial nobles regretted the domains formerly ceded to the Church by their fathers, though more independent doctrines gratified their feudal inclinations, and though desires for political enfranchisement were mingled with desires for religious liberty, yet the inhabitants of the great cities remained strongly Catholic. In France a foothold was gained, not by Lutheranism, but by Calvinism. Francis I, who supported the Protestants in Germany, did not tolerate them in his own kingdom. He had the Lutherans burned before his eyes and approved the horrible massacre of the Vaudois. Henry II, by the edict of Chateaubriand, decreed the same death penalty against heretics. He even had two magistrates, suspected of heresy, arrested in open Parliament; and one of them, Anne Dubourg, was burned

at the stake. This persecution of course brought about plots and a frightful struggle.

It was Calvinism which won the day in Scotland. Marie of Guise, the widow of James V, left the management of affairs to Cardinal Beaton, who defended Catholicism by extremely rigorous measures, but was assassinated (1546). The Reformation took possession of all Scotland, where Knox, who was summoned from Geneva, established the Presbyterian system.

In England the Reformation was not the work of the people, but of a despot, who found the country disposed for this revolution by the memories of Wiclyffe and the Lollards. Being smitten with Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII asked Pope Clement VII to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. As the pontiff hesitated, he made his own Parliament pronounce the divorce. On being excommunicated, he proclaimed himself the head of the Anglican Church (1534), suppressed the monastic orders, and confiscated the property of the convents (1539). Though Henry VIII separated himself from the Holy See, he always claimed that he remained orthodox. He retained the title of Defender of the Faith, which the Pope had bestowed upon him for writing a book against Luther. Without discrimination, he punished with death the man who denied the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and the man who denied the religious supremacy of the king. Very many sentences of death were pronounced. Spoliation followed murder. The nation, which through love of repose had abandoned its political liberty after the War of the Roses, beheld its money, its blood, its very beliefs, sacrificed to a tyrant. But by publishing an English translation of the sacred Scriptures, Henry unwittingly favored the spirit of investigation, which caused many sects to spring forth in England and paved the way for the revolution of 1648. Under Edward VI this "beheaded Catholicism," as the Reformation of Henry VIII was called, gave way to Protestantism pure and simple (1547).

A Catholic reaction set in after the death of the latter prince (1553). Earl Warwick placed upon the throne Lady Jane Grey. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII,

caused this ten days' queen to be beheaded, then married Philip II, king of Spain, and reconciled England with the Holy See. This restoration was marked by numerous executions. Between February, 1555, and September, 1558, 400 reformers perished, 290 of whom were burned at the stake. Drawn by Philip into the war against France, Mary lost Calais, and only survived this disaster by a few months (1558). She often said that if her body were opened, the word Calais would be found written upon her heart. The Anglican Church, as it exists to-day, was finally constituted in 1562 by Queen Elizabeth, the successor of Mary.

Character of the Three Reformed Churches.—Thus in less than half a century, Switzerland, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, half of Germany, and a part of France had separated themselves from Catholicism. As the principle of reform was free examination, it had already produced many sects, whose number was destined to be still further increased. However, three great systems were dominant: Lutheranism in the north of Germany and the Scandinavian States; Calvinism in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, and Scotland; and Anglicanism in England. Their common dogma was justification.

Of the three systems, Calvinism differed most from Roman Catholicism. It regarded the Lord's Supper as a simple, commemorative rite. The Lutherans admitted the Real Presence, but not transubstantiation. The Anglicans were Calvinistic in dogma, and Roman Catholic in liturgy. Their Church, with its archbishops, bishops, and its numerous revenues, differed from the Catholic Church mainly in the simplicity of costume, in the cold austerity of its worship, in the employment of the vernacular language, and in the marriage of its priests. Subject to royal supremacy, its existence was intimately bound up with the maintenance of the monarchy; and the clergy in England was, as it has been in the Catholic countries, the firmest support of royalty. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland was democratic, like all Calvinistic churches, and its clergy were equal. Puritans were later to declare every Christian a priest,

if he has the inspiration. The Lutheran countries retained the episcopal form.

Consequences of the Reformation.—The religious Revolution at first strengthened the political revolution, since it added to the civil rights of princes the right to control the conscience. The Calvinistic communities, however, recognized spiritual power as vested only in the assembly of the faithful.

As to the effect on general civilization, this insurrection of the investigating spirit was at first of small advantage to the progress of public reason. In Germany all utterance was bent upon theology. As in the palmy days of scholasticism, men neglected classic literature to occupy themselves only with barren and insolvable questions. The Renaissance died in consequence. Painters and poets disappeared before the iconoclastic rage of the one party and the theological vagaries of the other.

Luther and Calvin, the former of whom intrusted to the princes the spiritual power, and the latter of whom burned Michael Servetus and taught predestination, are not directly the fathers of modern liberty. The denial of the Pope's absolute authority in the spiritual order inevitably ended in the denial of the absolute authority of kings in the philosophical and social order. Luther and Calvin unwittingly led to Bacon and Descartes, and Bacon and Descartes as unconsciously led to Locke and Mirabeau.

THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION

The Papal Court and the Church. The Jesuits.—The papacy had in a few years lost half of its empire. Roused by this solemn warning, it began a work of internal reformation which did honor to four great Popes —Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V, and Sixtus V. The tribunal of the Rota, the penitentiary, the Roman chancellery, were better organized. A new Inquisition, whose superior tribunal sat at Rome, was instituted in 1542 to search out and punish, at home and abroad, all attacks

upon the faith. Neither rank nor dignity could protect from the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, who set to work with such energy that the roads leading from Italy to Switzerland and Germany were thronged with fugitives. The Congregation of the Index permitted no book to be printed until after it had been examined and revised. As individuals were executed, likewise books were burned. These means, obstinately pursued, were successful. Roman Catholicism was saved in the peninsula, but at what a price! The subjection of the Italians to the house of Austria had suppressed political life. The measures taken to prevent or extirpate heresy suppressed literary life. Men ceased to think and art declined like letters.

The Inquisition was considered only a measure of defense. In order to attack, the Holy See multiplied the militia which fought in its name. First the ancient monastic orders were reformed: in 1522 the Camaldules; in 1525 the Franciscans, whence sprang the Capucins. Then new orders were created, as the Theatines in 1524 and the Barnabites in 1530. In 1540 the Jesuits were established, whose statutes reveal one of the strongest political conceptions which has ever existed. In addition to the ordinary vows, the Jesuits swore absolute obedience to the Holy See. Instead of shutting themselves up in the recesses of a convent, they lived in the midst of society, so they might there grasp all the means of influence. They traveled over the world to keep believers in the faith, or convert heretics and barbarians, and they sought to control the education of the young. When their founder, Ignatius Loyola, died in 1556, the society already numbered fourteen provinces, 100 colleges, and 1000 members. Spain and Italy were under their influence, and their missionaries were traversing Brazil, India, Japan, and Ethiopia.

Council of Trent (1545-1563).—Thus fortified, the Church could repudiate those ideas of conciliation which had repeatedly arisen, but which the Protestant princes had rejected lest they should be compelled to restore the ecclesiastical property. The Council of Trent proclaimed the inflexibility of the Catholic doctrines. Con-

voked in 1545 by Paul III and presided over by his legates, it was subscribed to by eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine procurators of absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders. The Italian prelates were in the majority, generally two to one. As the voting was by individuals and not by nations, they were the masters of the council. The ambassadors of the Catholic powers were present at the deliberations.

Transferred from Trent to Bologna in 1546, restored to Trent in 1551, the council dispersed in 1552, at the approach of the Lutherans under Maurice of Saxony. Its sessions were interrupted for ten years, while Paul IV, with the help of France, was trying to overthrow the Spanish rule in Italy. When the sword of the Duke of Alva had terminated this conflict to the advantage of Spain, Pius IV abandoned the temporal cause of Italian independence. He was recompensed in spiritual matters by the last decrees of the Council of Trent, which instead of following the Fathers of Constance and Basle and setting itself above the Pope, humbled itself before his authority.

The pontiff remained sole judge of the changes to be made in discipline, supreme interpreter of the canons, undisputed head of the bishops, infallible in matters of faith, but nevertheless without possessing the personal infallibility (*se solo*) which Pius IX extorted from the council of 1870. Thus Rome could console herself for the final loss of a part of Europe, as she beheld her power doubled in the Catholic nations of the south, which pressed religiously about her.

The Pope also, in his quality of king, was his own master. Pius V celebrated in the victory of Lepanto, won by Don John of Austria over the Ottomans, a sort of revival of the crusades. Gregory XIII attached his name to the useful reform of the calendar. Sixtus V restored order in the papal states, displaying therein the inflexibility of Louis XI. He cleared the Roman country of the hordes of brigands, improved the finances, enlarged and adorned his capital, whose population rose to 100,000 souls, built the Vatican Library and annexed

to it a printing-office, for the publication of sacred books and of the writings of the Fathers.

Thus reform in the temporal administration of the pontifical states and reform in the bosom of the Church resulted from the efforts of Catholicism, in the second half of the sixteenth century, and caused its subsequent greatness. When discipline was revived and the scandal of the worldly life of prelates was repressed, the religious spirit reawoke. Asceticism and consecration again appeared.

At Rome something more was hoped for than this restoration of Catholicism to its diminished empire. The image of Gregory VII had passed before the eyes of his successors, and the regenerated Church had resumed the ambition of her great pontiffs. Democratic in the first centuries, aristocratic in the Middle Ages, with her powerful bishops, who, in case of need, threatened the Pope with excommunication, and with her councils which enforced her will, she had followed the tendency of the civil power, and through the necessities of her own defense had culminated in absolute royalty.

Unfortunately for her, this constitution of sacerdotal royalty took place at the moment when the temporal monarchies were too strong to humble themselves under any authority whatever. The decisions of the Council of Trent as to matters of discipline, were not received in France, not even in Spain, and the Catholic sovereigns appropriated to themselves a portion of the prerogatives which the Protestant princes had obtained by force. But when the authority of these monarchs yielded under the pressure of a new political revolution, ultramontanism in the nineteenth century resumed the work of the sixteenth. It was too late, for though the struggle was to be conducted this time with greater concentration, the power of the Church was less, and the spirit of the world ran in other channels.

OTHER WARS IN ITALY. FRANCIS I, CHARLES V, AND SULEÏMAN

Battle of Marignano (1515).—The successor of Louis XII was Francis I. Young, ardent, and warlike, he commenced his reign by an invasion of the Milanese territory. He crossed the Alps by the Neck of Argentière and at Marignano attacked 30,000 Swiss, whom he overthrew in the "Battle of the Giants." The Swiss were disgusted with these Italian wars. They returned to their mountains, where they signed the "perpetual peace" which assured their alliance with France until the French Revolution. To arrest the young conqueror, Pope Leo X made haste to sign a treaty, to the cost of the Church of France, but to the mutual profit of the Pope and the king. The Concordat of 1516 suppressed the ecclesiastical elections which had been recognized by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, and gave the king the direct appointment of the bishops and of the beneficed clergy. To the Pope it assigned the annates, or first year revenues of vacant sees. In this partition the pontiff left the spiritual share to the prince and took the temporal share for himself.

Power of Charles V.—By a series of fortunate marriages, a rival and dangerous power had been formed against France. In 1516 Charles of Austria took possession of Spain, where Ferdinand the Catholic had just died. He found himself master of Austria, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples, Sicily, Spain, and America. Francis I, still elated by the victory of Marignano, did not fear the master of so many divided states. Instead of trying to dismember this monstrous power before it could consolidate, he concluded with Charles the treaty of Noyon, which permitted his youthful antagonist at his leisure to gather together all his crowns (1516).

This friendship was broken three years later, when the imperial throne became vacant through the death of Maximilian. Charles and Francis became competitors

for it. The electors deemed those candidates too powerful and chose Frederick the Wise. He declined the honor, but advised the choice of Charles, since that prince was more interested than anyone else in defending Germany against the Ottomans, who were daily becoming more menacing. So Charles of Austria became the Emperor Charles V. His power aided by his astuteness threatened the independence of the other states.

France accepted the task of resisting the new Charlemagne. The forces of the two adversaries were really less unequal than they seemed. France formed a compact and in a degree a homogeneous whole which it was difficult to crush. Her resources were controlled by a royal house which encountered resistance nowhere at home. By the Concordat Francis I had just placed the clergy under his hand. The feudal aristocracy was already in his power, and he boasted of being a king free from tutelage. Charles V, on the contrary, met opposition on every side: in Spain, from the comuneros; in Flanders, from the burghers; in Germany, from the princes and later on from the Protestants. In Austria he had to combat the then terrible Ottomans. Besides, he found it very difficult to concentrate in one direction all his instruments of action, then scattered through so many countries.

First of all the rivals sought allies. Francis I, at the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, only succeeded in wounding the self-love of Henry VIII, king of England, whom he eclipsed in elegant luxury and knightly accomplishments. Charles, less pretentious, gained Wolsey, the prime minister of Henry, by promising him the tiara, and thus secured the English alliance for himself. Pope Leo X also declared for the man who seemed able to arrest the fermenting reformation in Germany.

Francis began hostilities by just complaints against the emperor, for not having executed one of the principal clauses of the treaty of Noyon in the restitution of French Navarre. Six thousand men invaded that country, and the Duke of Bouillon attacked Luxemburg. But the French were defeated in Castile, and the Im-

perialists would have taken Mezières, had not Bayard thrown himself into the place (1521). In Italy Lautrec was left without resources, and forced to submit to his Swiss mercenaries, who demanded money, discharge, or battle. So he was completely routed at Bicoque (1522). The loss of the Milanese entailed the defection of Venice and Genoa. In that same year, Charles V placed his preceptor, Adrian VI, on the pontifical throne.

Battle of Pavia (1525). **Treaties of Madrid** (1526) **and of Cambray** (1529).—The very existence of France was then imperiled by the treason of the constable of Bourbon, the last of the great feudal lords, whom injustice had driven into the camp of Charles V. He vanquished the incapable Bonnivet at Biagrasso, where Bayard was slain (1524), and led the Imperialists into Provence. However the peasants rose and compelled them to retreat in disorder. The French, the king at their head, rushed in pursuit and attacked them at Pavia. The artillery was accomplishing marvels, when Francis I, charging with his cavalry, placed himself in front of his own fire. The battle was lost and the king himself was captured (1525).

Europe was roused and showed herself unwilling to allow the destruction of France. Italy, menaced in her independence, and Henry VIII, who was overshadowed by the glory of Charles V, and whose minister, Wolsey, had been twice tricked by the emperor in his hopes of the promised papal tiara, formed a league against the victor. Meanwhile Francis I, impatient to escape from captivity, signed the disastrous treaty of Madrid (1526), whereby he ceded to Charles the province of Burgundy, renounced Milan, Naples, and Genoa, with the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, reëstablished Bourbon in his possessions, and promised to wed the sister of the emperor, the queen dowager of Portugal.

Once free, he caused the deputies of Burgundy in the assembly of Cognac to declare that the king had no right to alienate a national province. The emperor treated Francis as a perjurer and the latter accused him of lying. The two princes challenged each other to single combat and the war again began. Italy was the first victim.

Bourbon threw upon it an army of fanatical Lutherans, whose leader, George Frondsberg, wished to hang the Pope with a golden chain. Bourbon was killed under the walls of Rome, but his horde captured the city and avenged him by abominable rapine and most odious cruelty (1527). Lautrec, who had reconquered Milan, marched upon Naples. The defection of the Genoese fleet made the expedition a failure. The general died of the pest, and the defeat at Landriano drove the French from Italy once more. Then Charles V made his appearance there as a master. He forced the dukes of Ferrara, Milan, and Mantua to acknowledge themselves vassals of the empire; Savoy and Montferrat to renounce the French alliance; Pope Clement VII to crown him king of Italy and emperor (1529). France even signed the treaty of Cambray, less harsh but hardly less humiliating than that of Madrid.

Alliances of Francis I. Successes of Suleïman.—Francis paved the way for revenge by negotiations which showed that the religious spirit, a main characteristic of the Middle Ages, was yielding to the political spirit, the sole inspiration of governments in modern times. He entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany, with Suleïman, the Ottoman Sultan, and later on with the Swedish and Danish reformers. Suleïman (1520-1566), as a friend of the arts, a protector of letters, and the author of the code entitled the Khanounnamé, deserved his triple surname of the Conqueror, the Magnificent, and the Legislator. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. In 1522 he wrested Rhodes from the Knights of Saint John, despite their heroic resistance through five months under their Grand Master, Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Suleïman passed the Danube with 200,000 men, and destroyed the Hungarian army on the fatal field of Mohacz (1526). The crown of Hungary fell to Ferdinand of Austria. Suleïman supported against this brother of Charles V, a Magyar claimant, John Zapoli. All Hungary was ravaged, Buda itself fell into his power, and he marched through Austria to the very walls of Vienna, which repelled twenty assaults. To cause this reverse to be forgotten the Sul-

tan with his own hands crowned his vassal king of Hungary in Buda.

Two years later he appeared again in Austria at the head of 300,000 men. Fortunately Gratz, a small fortress in Styria, delayed him for a month. During the siege of this town he received the first embassy of Francis I. He intended to invade Germany, but Charles V had had time to collect 150,000 combatants. Lutherans and Catholics joined hands against the crescent, and Francis I dared not aid his formidable ally by a diversion on the Rhine or in Italy. No general battle was fought. At the end of six weeks the Sultan learned that a Spanish fleet had just entered the Dardanelles and was threatening Constantinople, so he withdrew (1532). Meanwhile the Turkish navy was being developed under the celebrated Khaireddin Barbarossa. This corsair, now become the admiral of the Ottoman fleets, scoured the Mediterranean with 100 vessels. While in Asia the Sultan was taking Tauris and Bagdad from the Persians, he seized Tunis, which became a lair whence pirates devastated the whole Spanish and Italian coast. Charles V sent two expeditions against them. In the first with 400 vessels commanded by Doria he took possession of La Gouletta at the entrance of the Gulf of Tunis, and freed 22,000 captives (1535). Less fortunate six years later at Algiers, he beheld his fleet dispersed by a tempest, and could scarcely save its pitiable remnants. The emperor afforded more effectual protection to the commerce of Christian peoples by ceding the island of Malta to the Knights of Rhodes, who for a long time repressed the pirates. While Charles V played the part of Defender of Christianity, Francis I seemed to be its enemy. The very year of the expedition to Tunis, he signed with Suleïman the first of those treaties called capitulations.

New War between Charles V and Francis I.—Charles V provoked a new war with France by causing an agent of the French king to be put to death in Constantinople. His second invasion of Provence was no more successful than the first. He found the country systematically dev-

astated by Montmorency, who refused to give battle, and was forced to a disastrous retreat (1536).

Then Francis I cited him before Parliament as a traitorous vassal, since he still held the fiefs of Flanders and Artois. A desperate struggle seemed begun, but a grand victory won by Suleïman at Essek over the Austrians, and the ravages of Barbarossa rendered the emperor more pacific. Francis I was content with having conquered Piedmont, so through the mediation of the Pope, he signed at Nice a truce of ten years with his rival (1538). The two sovereigns appeared reconciled. In 1540, Ghent revolted, and Francis offered Charles a free pass through France on his way to subjugate it. The emperor accepted and promised to restore Milan. Hardly had he arrived in Flanders when he retracted his promise, and furthermore caused the murder of two French envoys who were on their way to Turkey. This assassination and the failure of Charles at Algiers decided Francis I to again take up arms. His fleet, united to that of Barbarossa, captured Nice, and the Duke of Enghien won the splendid victory of Cérisoles (1544). But in the north Charles V penetrated as far as Château Thierry, fifteen leagues from Paris, and his ally, the king of England, laid siege to Boulogne. Famine and disease stopped the Imperialists, who signed the peace of Crespy (1544) on terms of mutual restitution. Henry VIII continued the war and took Boulogne, but gave it back on payment of 2,000,000 francs at the treaty of Ardres (1546).

Abdication of Charles V (1556).—Francis died in 1547. His death left Charles V apparently free to restore the empire of Charlemagne. Suleïman was at that time chiefly absorbed in wars in Asia against the Persians, and the Hungarians seemed capable of checking the Ottomans on the Danube. The Protestants already formed a powerful body in Germany, which the emperor wished to crush before France could send them support. He defeated them at Muhlberg (1547) through the treachery of Maurice of Saxony, and dictated the Interim of Augsburg, which displeased everybody. Henry II, the new king of France, took advantage of the

general discontent to declare himself the protector of German liberties. He entered Lorraine, took possession of the Three Bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1551), while the Protestants surprised the emperor and forced him to flee to Italy. By the compromise of Passau Charles accorded them freedom of conscience (1552), and turned against France, his ancient enemy, to avenge this humiliation. His good fortune deserted him before Metz. Then weary of so many fruitless struggles, he renounced the crown of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands in favor of his son Philip II (1556). Next he abdicated the imperial throne in favor of his brother Archduke Ferdinand, already king of the Romans. From that day forth the house of Austria separated into two branches, and the vast dominion of Charles V was henceforth divided (1556).

Continuation of the Struggle between the Houses of France and Austria (1558-1559).—Thus the integrity of France had not been broken, and Charles V had failed in realizing his dream of a universal monarchy. Germany also preserved her liberties, or in other words her divisions. Italy alone found herself in the hands of the Spaniards, who were quartered at Naples and Milan. An energetic Pope, Paul IV, undertook to expel them. He counted upon the aid of France for success. So the war continued. One French army was sent towards the Netherlands and another towards Italy. They intended to leave to Philip nothing but Spain.

The Duke of Guise was already marching upon Naples when he was recalled to France by the defeat of Saint Quentin. The bold captain struck a great blow. Unexpectedly in the dead of winter he besieged Calais and captured it in a week (1558). The Spaniards were still on the Somme, and a defeat of the Marshal of Thermes at Gravelines destroyed all hope of their prompt expulsion. Moreover Italy was at their mercy, and the plan of the Pope became impossible of execution. Henry negotiated the treaty of Château Cambrésis by which France restored to the Duke of Savoy his states minus a few cities, Siena to the Medici, and Corsica to the

Genoese; but she retained the Three Bishoprics, and, on payment of 500,000 crowns, the city of Calais (1559).

Thus the Spanish domination was strengthened in northern and southern Italy. The still existing Italian princes possessed hardly more than the shadow of independence. The French kings had thrown France into these wars, hoping to conquer Naples and Milan, but instead had given them to Spain. Their royal rivalries had engrossed the attention and the forces of the sovereigns for forty years. Meanwhile the Reformation had spread over half of Europe. The peace of Château Cambrésis ended the Italian wars only to permit the kings of France and Spain to begin, with the aid of the Pope and the Catholic clergy, the religious wars.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

(1559-1598)

Philip II.—The rehabilitated Church could now make war with arguments. She required also an arm wherewith to do battle with the sword. For this end she possessed, in the sixteenth century, Philip II, the son of Charles V and his successor in Spain, and in the seventeenth the heir of his German possessions, Ferdinand of Austria.

Philip II, whom the Protestants call the Demon of the South, was master of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, and Milan in Italy; of Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, Roussillon in France; of the Netherlands at the mouth of the Scheldt, Meuse, and Rhine; of Tunis, Oran, Cape Verd, and the Canary Isles in Africa; of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and the Antilles in America; and lastly of the Philippine Islands in Oceanica. He had seaports without number, a powerful fleet, the best disciplined troops, and the most skillful generals in Europe, and the inexhaustible treasures of the New World. He increased this domination still further in 1581 by the acquisition of Portugal and her immense colonial empire. The sun never set upon

his states. It was a common saying then, "When Spain moves, the earth trembles."

All this power did not satisfy his ambition. As a Catholic he hated the Protestants; as an absolute king he feared them. Both from self-interest and conviction he declared himself the armed leader of Catholicism, which was able out of gratitude to raise him to the supreme power in Western Europe. This was the thought of his whole life. He recoiled before no means which might crush the hostile principle. To this struggle he consecrated rare talents. Therein he expended all his military forces. He lavished all his gold to foment assassination in Holland, conspiracy in England, and civil war in France. We shall see with what success.

Character of This Period.—When the French and Spanish kings signed the peace of Château Cambrésis (1559), they purposed to introduce into their government the new spirit which animated the Church, and to wage a pitiless war against heresy. The one undertook to stifle the Reformation in France; the other sought to prevent its birth in Italy and Spain and to crush it in the Netherlands and England. When Henry II died, his three sons, the last of the Valois, carried on his plans. At first they required only the advice of Spain. The oldest, Francis II, reigned less than a year and a half (1559-1560). The second, Charles IX, died at the age of twenty-four (1574). The third, Henry III (1574-1589), who alone attained full manhood, always remained in a sort of minority, whence he emerged only in fits of passion. Hence this Valois line was incapable of conducting in France the great battle of creeds.

But at their side or confronting them, there were persons more strongly tempered for good or ill. Such were Catherine de Medici, their mother, unscrupulous and astute; the Guises, uncles of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who organized the Catholics into a party when they saw the Protestants forming a faction around their rivals, the princes of the house of Bourbon; the general Condé; Coligny, who, from a moral point of view, was the superior of them all; in the Netherlands,

William the Silent, the Prince of Orange; in England Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, who, during the reign of her sister Mary, was the hope of the English Protestants.

In the war, many diverging interests were about to engage. The Dutch desired liberty, England her independence, the cities of France their ancient communal rights, and provincial feudalism its former privileges. But the religious form, which was that of the times, covered all. When we survey the whole from the heights of the Vatican or the Escurial, we recognize the fact that the chief aim pursued in Western Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century was the triumph of the Church, as constituted by the Council of Trent, and the triumph of the king of Spain, her military chief.

France, Battlefield of the Two Parties. The First War (1562-1563).—The contract, entered into by the two kings at Château Cambrésis, had immediately been put into execution. In France, Anne Dubourg was burned at the stake, and the edict of Écouen threatened the Protestants with death. In Spain Philip II had autos-da-fé celebrated in his presence, in order to show the provincial governors that they must grant no mercy to heretics. At Naples and Milan all suspected persons perished. Even the archbishop of Toledo was persecuted for his opinions. Sanguinary edicts spread the terror to the Netherlands, where the creation of new bishoprics notified the population of a stricter surveillance. This declaration of war against heresy was answered as early as 1559, by acts of the English Parliament, which recognized Elizabeth as the supreme head of the Anglican Church; by the secularization of all the bishoprics of Brandenburg; and by the suppression of the religious and military Order of the Sword Bearers of Livonia. Thus did the Reformation consolidate and extend from the Irish Sea to the recesses of the Baltic, despite the thunders of Rome and the threats of two mighty kings.

It even tried to win France by the plot of **Amboise**, which came near success, and which the Guises defeated

by shedding rivers of blood (1560). In vain did a great magistrate, L'Hôpital, preach moderation and tolerance to those furious men who listened only to their passions. The massacre of Protestants at Vassy (1562) inaugurated a war which only ended thirty-six years later. During this time France was the principal battlefield of the two parties. The atrocious character of the war was evident from the very beginning of hostilities. As soon as Philip II learned that the sword had been drawn, he sent to the south, to Montluc, "the Catholic butcher," 3000 of his best soldiers and directed others from the Netherlands upon Paris. At the same time the German Protestants gave 7000 men to Condé, to whom Elizabeth also dispatched reënforcements and money. The defeat of this prince at Dreux and the death of the Duke of Guise, who was assassinated before Orleans, restored influence to the advocates of peace. Catherine de Medici granted to the Protestants the edict of Amboise (1563). Its principal clauses will be found again in the last edict of pacification, that of Nantes, a proof of the uselessness of those thirty-six years of murder, ravage, and conflagration.

Catholicism in the Netherlands and in France (1564-1568). **The Blood Tribunal** (1567).—The edict of Amboise irritated Spain and Rome. Pius V, who had been grand inquisitor before he became Pope, reproached Catherine for her weakness. During a journey which she made in the south Philip II sent to meet her at Bayonne the most pitiless of his lieutenants, the Duke of Alva, who informed the queen of the policy of his master, which consisted in ridding himself of hostile leaders by assassination. This doubtless was the germ whence the subsequent massacre of Saint Bartholomew developed. The Jesuits were spreading everywhere and were everywhere preparing the way for a mortal combat with heresy. This time it was in the Netherlands that the fire broke out and thence spread to France.

The Spaniards poured into the Netherlands. They introduced the despotic spirit among a people whose municipal life had always been very strong. The publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent was the

signal for insurrection. The nobles, threatened with the loss of their religious and political liberty, bound themselves by the Compromise of Breda (1566) to lend each other mutual aid in obtaining the redress of their grievances. The people among whom the Reformation had already made great progress flung themselves with the blind fury of mobs upon the churches, broke the images of the saints, overthrew the altars, and burned the pulpits. Shocked at these demagogical excesses the nobles held aloof, and the revolt, thus isolated, calmed down at once. But Philip decided to make an example. He sent to the Low Countries the Duke of Alva, who instituted the Tribunal of Blood. Eighteen thousand persons perished on the scaffold, among whom were the counts Horn and Egmont. Thirty thousand persons were stripped of their property, 100,000 emigrated, and a ruinous tax destroyed the fortunes of those who remained.

These events found their echo in France, where the second civil war broke out (1567), marked by the battle of Saint Denis. Then came the third civil war (1568), where Italians hired by Pius V, Spaniards dispatched by the Duke of Alva, and Catholic Germans fought against the Protestants of all countries. At Jarnac Condé was slain, and at Moncontour Coligny was defeated.

Thus the victory remained with the Catholics. In France, Catherine resolved to sign the Peace of Saint Germain (1570) that she might gain time to devise "something else." In the Netherlands the Catholic triumph was apparently complete, and preparations were carried on for an invasion of England, where since 1563 Spanish gold had been cleverly employed to keep up the agitation. In Spain every attempt to escape from religious and political tyranny was mercilessly repressed. The wrath of the king hung over all. He drove his son to suicide, his wife to death, and the Moors of the Alpujarras to revolt. He established the Inquisition in the Spanish colonies, and from one end to the other of his dominions silence and terror reigned. During this period Catholicism suffered only one serious check, when

the errors and the fall of Mary Stuart (1568) assured the victory in Scotland to the followers of the Reformation.

Dispersion of the Forces of Spain. Battle of Lepanto (1571).—Meanwhile the forces of Spain were being dispersed in all directions. Much money was expended and many soldiers were employed. In Andalusia they fought the Moors who, supported by England, resisted until 1571. On the Mediterranean they fought the Ottomans, whose progress continued and who conquered Cyprus in 1570. In the Netherlands they fought the Gueux or "beggars," who along the coast and at the mouth of the rivers intercepted the Spanish vessels, prevented the provisioning of the strongholds and thus inspired uneasiness in one party and hope in the other. At Naples, at Milan, on the coast of Africa, in the colonies, in Mexico, in Peru, everywhere, strong garrisons were required and Spain drained herself of men to maintain her domination of the world.

The only honorable war carried on was that against the Ottomans, but it was ruinous. Thus in 1558 a squadron and army sent against Tlemcen were destroyed. In the following year 15,000 soldiers on 200 vessels tried to capture Tripoli and suffered a frightful disaster. Four years later, the fleet of Naples was overwhelmed by a tempest. In 1565 Suleïman, who had already wrested Rhodes from the Knights, besieged them in Malta, but was repulsed by their Grand Master, La Valette. These efforts of the Ottomans to render themselves masters of the whole Mediterranean forced Philip II to direct a large proportion of his resources against them. After the loss of Cyprus he got together 300 ships manned by 80,000 soldiers and rowers, and his natural brother, Don Juan of Austria, won the famous but useless victory of Lepanto (1571).

Catholic Conspiracies in England and France.—Such expenditure of men and money rendered Philip unable to interfere in the affairs of France and England except by plots. The victory of Lepanto encouraged the Catholics. The Duke of Norfolk vainly tried to overthrow

Elizabeth and enthrone Mary Stuart, while Catherine de Medici sought to annihilate the Calvinist party by the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

When Darnley, the husband of Mary Stuart, was murdered by the Earl of Bothwell (1567) and the queen married the assassin, all Scotland rose against her. Mary took refuge with Elizabeth, who treated her as a prisoner (1568). The expiation of such injustice began almost immediately, and England thenceforth was constantly agitated by Catholic plots to deliver the captive. Philip pensioned the English Catholics, who had fled to the continent. He threw open to their priests the seminaries of Flanders, so as to hold the British coast under the perpetual menace of an invasion more formidable than that of an army of soldiers. In 1569 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth. Thereupon many lords got together a little army, which had as its standard a picture of Jesus Christ with his five bleeding wounds. In the following year a fresh rebellion was repressed like the first. A third unsuccessful attempt was made in 1572 by the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Mary Stuart had promised her hand, but who was defeated and executed.

Thus in England Protestantism made a victorious defense. In France it seemed on the point of perishing. After the peace of Saint Germain Admiral Coligny gained great influence over the mind of the king, the young Charles IX. He wished to lead the French Protestants against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and thus by one stroke end the civil wars in France, and commence a national war against the foreigner. The execution of this sagacious plan was in preparation, when a professional assassin in the pay of the house of Guise severely wounded the admiral. The king was finally persuaded to order a general massacre of the Protestants on Saint Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572. The unsuspecting victims were butchered by thousands. For this abominable crime the king received warm congratulations from the courts of Rome and Spain. "Be fully assured," Philip II wrote, "that in furthering thus the affairs of God, you are furthering your own still more." This is the countersign of that

CATHERINE DE MEDICI AND HER COURT LADIES LEAVING THE LOUVRE THE MORNING AFTER THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW 1572

From the Painting by Debat-Ponsan

atrocious and odious policy which masked political ambition under the guise of piety.

Progress of Protestantism (1572-1587).—Protestantism, mutilated and bleeding, rose up stronger than ever. Despite the loss of its most experienced captains and most valiant soldiers, the Calvinist party rushed to arms after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and at the peace of La Rochelle enforced the recognition of its right to liberty of conscience. That political crime of August 24 was therefore, as always happens, useless. When Henry III, a man of distinguished ability, but of corrupt heart, succeeded Charles IX in 1574, he found himself face to face with three parties which he was incapable of controlling: the politicians, headed by his youngest brother, François d'Alençon; the Calvinist, who recognized as their leader Henry of Béarn, king of Navarre; and the enthusiastic Catholics, whom Henry of Guise organized into the faction of the league, and who opposed both the king and the Huguenots. Unimportant wars and treaties carry us to the year 1584, when the Duke of Alençon died. As Henry III had no son, Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Protestants, became heir presumptive to the crown. In the war of the three Henrys he consecrated his rights by the brilliant victory of Coutras (1587). Thus it seemed that the religious wars in France were on the point of elevating a heretic to the throne of Saint Louis, in spite of the excommunication of the Pope, who had declared Henry of Navarre unworthy to succeed to the crown.

In the Netherlands, there was likewise Protestant success. After having long carried on a piratical war which effected nothing, the Gueux undertook war on land which might lead to some result. In 1572 they seized Briel, and the two provinces of Holland and Zealand immediately took up arms.

Supported by the Protestants of Germany, England, and France, aided by the nature of their country intersected by canals, above all commanded by William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who was surnamed the Silent despite his eloquence and who understood quite as well as Coligny, his father-in-law, how to extort advantage

even from reverses, the insurgents defended themselves with success. Violence having failed, Philip wished to try mildness and replaced the Duke of Alva. But the army, left without pay and without provisions, sacked the principal cities. The general irritation gave rise to the confederation of Ghent (1576), which united for a time all the Netherlands against the Spanish rule.

Unfortunately this union could not long be maintained between the ten Walloon provinces, or modern Belgium, which were manufacturing and Catholic, and the seven Batavian provinces, or modern Holland, which were commercial and Calvinistic. Opposition of interests and beliefs was bound to bring about opposition of political views. In 1579 in fact the Walloons, by the treaty of Maestricht, recognized Philip II as their king. On the other hand the northern provinces made a closer union at Utrecht, and constituted themselves a republic, with William of Orange as stadtholder or governor general. Two years later the States General of The Hague, the federal capital of the United Provinces, solemnly separated themselves from the crown of Spain, and declared that Philip II had forfeited all authority in the Netherlands.

The king set a price on the head of William the Silent. A rascal, who wished to earn this reward, murdered the stadtholder (1584), but the liberty of the United Provinces no longer hung upon the life of one man. The Dutch understood how to defend their independence, even against the skillful Farnese Duke of Parma. They were also aided by England, which in 1585 sent them 6000 men, and by France, whither the duke was twice obliged to go to the succor of the League, and where in his second journey he died. Thus the war undertaken by the Catholics in the Netherlands resulted in the establishment of a new people among the nations.

England and Spain had not yet grappled in hand to hand combat. But Elizabeth was sending to all the enemies of Philip II arms, soldiers, and money, and by means of bold corsairs was carrying on a disastrous war against Spanish commerce. Drake in 1577 pillaged the cities on the coast of Chili and Peru, captured many

ships, and after making the circuit of the globe returned at the end of three years with immense booty. Cavendish in 1585 devastated the Spanish establishments for the second time, while the Dutch laid waste those of Portugal, which had become a province of Spain. The king could not revenge himself, because his two enemies then had no trading posts or commerce, and there were no vulnerable points outside their territory where he could strike them. Thus against Elizabeth he saw no weapon but conspiracy. The cruel situation created for English Catholics by the queen rendered this easy. In one year 200 persons were beheaded, for the Protestants practiced toleration no more than their adversaries, and on both sides they defended heaven by torture or assassination. A final attempt to kill the queen of England decided her to send Mary Stuart to the scaffold (1587). With the head of the niece of the Guises fell all the hopes of a Catholic restoration in Great Britain.

Defeat of Spain and of Ultramontanism (1588-1598).— The Ultramontane party, vanquished in the Netherlands and in England and menaced in France, resolved upon a supreme effort. As early as 1584 the Guises had treated with Philip II and infused fresh life into the League. He himself exhausted all the resources of his states to organize an army and a fleet strong enough to bring back the Netherlands and England, and after them France, to the Catholic faith, and subject them to the law of Spain. On June 3, 1588, the invincible Armada issued from the Tagus. It was to land in England an army of 50,000 men. Storms and the English and Flemish sailors with their fire-ships, in one of the decisive encounters of all human history, got the better of this arrogant expedition. The plan, over which Philip II had toiled for five years and upon which he had meditated for eighteen, was utterly shipwrecked in the space of a few days.

At the moment when Philip believed that his Armada was carrying him back victorious to London, Guise, his best ally, was making a triumphal entry into Paris, whence the king escaped as a fugitive. But the Spanish fleet once destroyed, Henry III began to hope again.

He enticed Henry of Guise to Blois, where he had him murdered. Then joining the heretic king of Navarre, he returned to lay siege to his capital. A monk assassinated him in his camp (1589).

The Huguenot Henry of Navarre was immediately proclaimed king of France as Henry IV. Though many Catholics abandoned him, 7000 English, 10,000 Dutch, and 12,000 Germans came to his help, which permitted him to hold his own against the Spaniards and Italians who had hastened to the aid of the League. The battles of Arques and of Ivry confirmed his fortune and his renown (1590). Twice the Duke of Parma endeavored to capture Paris and Rouen (1591). But demagogic excesses, the general lassitude, and the imprudence of Philip II, who demanded of the States General of 1593 the crown of France for his daughter Isabella, the promised bride of an Austrian archduke, rallied the politicians around Henry IV. Soon afterward he abjured Protestantism at Saint Denis, "because Paris was well worth a mass," and was generally accepted as king (1593).

The League had no longer any reason to exist. It retarded but could not prevent the triumph of Henry IV. Brissac sold him Paris when he expelled the Spanish garrison. A few months later papal absolution consecrated his rights even in the eyes of the leaguers. The chiefs were then compelled to acknowledge him. The Duke of Guise yielded, as did also Villars, Brancas, and Mayenne. But all made him pay for their submission. A brief war with Spain, signalized by the battle of Fontaine Française and the siege of Amiens, brought about the peace of Vervins, which reëstablished the boundaries of the two kingdoms, on the footing of the treaty of Château Cambrésis. Three weeks earlier Henry IV had assured peace at home by signing the edict of Nantes, which guaranteed the Protestants liberty of conscience, freedom of worship in their castles, and in a great number of cities, equal representation in the parliaments of the south, and places of surety. Lastly, they were accorded the right of assembling by deputies, every three years, to present their complaints

THE REAL QUEEN ELIZABETH

This "so-called Ermine Portrait" of the Virgin Queen, Painted by Ferdinand Zucchero, and now in the Possession of the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House, London, is said to be an authentic Likeness

to the government (1598). Thus they constituted a state within the state.

RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

Decline and Ruin of Spain.—There is no greater moral lesson in history than that afforded by the reign of Philip II. This man, for the sake of ruling the human will and conscience, devoted to his ambition apparently inexhaustible resources, and an energy that flinched at nothing. Everything seemed legitimate to his mind, devoured by a double fanaticism, at once political and religious. In the task which the Pope and the king pursued in common, the Church was far more the instrument than the end, for Catholic restoration was to result in the consolidation of Spanish supremacy. And when to attain his object Philip II had shed torrents of blood, he found that he had slain neither heresy nor popular liberty, but had destroyed Spain. Everything was perishing in the peninsula. Commerce and industry, which had been cruelly attacked by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, were still further affected by the monopolies which the government set up. Agriculture was succumbing under the periodical ravages of the flocks of the Mesta. The population, decimated by war and emigration, was also diminished by the multiplication of convents. For all these reasons labor decreased and the country was forced to purchase abroad what it could no longer produce. Thus the gold of America traversed Spain without rendering it fruitful and flowed rapidly towards the productive nations. This explains the astonishing fact that the possessor of the richest deposits of metals in the world was twice obliged (1575 and 1596) to suspend payment, and that he left a debt of over $200,000,000. Men had not yet learned that real wealth does not exist in the gold which represents it, but in the labor which creates it.

Philip II died in 1598, four months after the edict of

Nantes and the treaty of Vervins. He had witnessed the crumbling of all his plans and the strengthening of his two great adversaries, Henry IV and Elizabeth, on the thrones which they had gloriously reconquered or preserved. A century later the Marquis de Torcy said: "Spain is a body without a soul." We have seen that Italy shared the fate of Spain.

Prosperity of England and Holland.—The perils from internal conspiracies and foreign war, which England had just escaped, permitted Elizabeth to finish the work of the Tudors by constituting the most absolute royalty which ever existed in the land. As head of the Church she persecuted the Non-Conformists with cruelty. In order that she might more effectively reach their adversaries, the Anglicans delivered over to her the public liberties. The jury was nearly suppressed. In Parliament not a voice dared raise itself against the ministers. "In the trials for high treason which were instituted on the slightest pretext, the courts of justice differed little from regular caverns of assassins." This is what the War of the Roses, the Reformation, and religious hatreds had made of free England. Beneath this despotism a revolution was in secret preparation, which was to break out against the second successor of Elizabeth.

At least she had developed all the sources of national wealth for her country by favoring commerce and the marine; by the creation of the Exchange in London; by the colonization of Virginia, whence were brought the potato and tobacco; by the immigration into England of the Flemish who fled from Spanish tyranny, and caused their adopted country to profit by their industrial and commercial skill. Under Queen Elizabeth lived one of the greatest dramatic poets of the world, Shakespeare, and a philosopher, Bacon, who brought about a salutary revolution in the sciences by effecting the final adoption of the experimental method.

The Dutch, while defending against Philip II their half-submerged land, had already become the carriers of the ocean and the harvesters of the sea. They bartered their tons of herrings for tons of gold, by pro-

visioning with salted viands the Catholic countries where the practice of fasting rendered such food a necessity. In a single year the fishermen turned into the treasury 5,000,000 florins as their share of the taxes. Moreover they carried on an enormous commission trade, taking merchandise where it was cheap and transporting it where it was needed. Philip II closed Lisbon to them. Therefore they sought their Oriental wares at the places of production, and by the conquest of the Moluccas laid the foundations of a colonial empire which the great East India Company, organized in 1602, developed and strengthened. The two provinces of Holland and Zealand alone possessed 70,000 sailors, through whose hands the entire commerce of Spain and Portugal was destined to pass.

Reorganization of France by Henry IV (1598-1610).—Henry IV, by the treaty of Vervins and the edict of Nantes, gave France peace at home and abroad. The country's wounds remained to be healed. The finances were in the most deplorable state. The public debt amounted to almost 1,300,000,000 francs and the income was barely 30,000,000 a year. Henry IV chose for superintendent of the finances the soldier Sully, the faithful comrade of his fortunes. This energetic and devoted minister made the revenue farmers disgorge. He himself verified the product of the imposts and fixed them at only a proper amount. In less than a dozen years, although the taxes had been reduced by 4,000,000, the public service was assured, 147,000,000 of debts had been paid, 8,000,000 worth of domains redeemed, and a surplus of 20,000,000 placed in reserve in the vaults of the Bastile.

"Tillage and pasturage," said Sully, "are the two breasts which nourish France. They are the real mines and treasures of Peru." Therefore he decreed the draining of marshes, prohibited the destruction of the forests, and permitted the free exportation of grain. Tax collectors were forbidden to seize the beasts or instruments of tillage. And lastly, Olivier de Serres, a great scientific agriculturist, popularized by his works the true maxims of rural culture and economy. Sully despised

manufactures, but the king, who was less exclusive, had 50,000 mulberry trees planted and revived the factories of Lyons, Nîmes, and Tours, which Francis I had established. He founded factories for glass and pottery at Nevers and Paris, concluded treaties of commerce with Holland and England, restored to France the monopoly of commerce in the East, and had Champlain build the city of Quebec in Canada (1608).

Henry IV longed to restore peace to Europe as he had restored it to France. He conceived the plan of a grand confederation of European states, with a diet to settle international differences. With this aim in view, he was about to begin a war with Austria and had already taken the field with 40,000 men, to determine the succession of Cleves and Juliers, when the dagger of Ravaillac ended his life and saved Austria (1610).

Such were the results of the formidable enterprise directed by the papacy and Spain against the modern spirit which was awakening. The independence of Europe was saved. Toleration had won its first victory and liberty of the mind could begin. A new state, the United Provinces, was about to treat on terms of equality with the most glorious kings. An ancient state, England, had received the revelation of her future greatness. France was placed by a great prince at the head of Europe. Spain, in conclusion, fell from the hands of Philip II, exhausted and agonizing; and the Roman Inquisition made of Italy for three centuries the land of the dead.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, OR THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

(1618-1648)

Preliminaries of the Thirty Years' War (1555-1618).— The struggle of ultramontanism against the Reformation after the Catholic restoration effected by the Council of Trent and the papacy, broke out first in Western Europe. Vanquished in France, the Netherlands, Eng-

land, and Scotland, and constrained to submit to the edict of toleration proclaimed at Nantes in 1598, ultramontanism attempted twenty years later to regain Germany and the countries of the North. The first war had lasted thirty-six years and covered with ruins all the lands situated between the Pyrenees and the North Sea. The second lasted thirty years (1618-1648) and extended its ravages from the Danube to the Scheldt, from the shores of the Po to those of the Baltic, destroying cities, ruining nations, decimating the population, and bringing back barbarism. Men employed two-thirds of a century in murdering each other in the name of the God of charity and love.

When Charles V, fallen from the height of his hopes, resolved to abdicate, he first promulgated the peace of Augsburg. This could be only a truce, because it contained an ecclesiastical reservation which forbade any holder of a benefice on becoming a Protestant to retain any church property which he had formerly held. Moreover Lutheranism had split up into a multitude of sects which interpreted differently the question of grace. The universities of Jena, Wittenberg, and Leipzig excommunicated each other in turn, and in the midst of this confusion the Duke of Saxony, a temporal sovereign, arrogated the right of dictating a creed and of expelling or imprisoning all infringers thereof. In 1580 the followers of the Reformation in Saxony and Brandenburg signed a "formula of concord," to which the three electors and a great number of princes and cities gave their adhesion, but which other states of northern Germany rejected. In conclusion, the separation was so profound between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, that the former allowed the Catholics to deprive of his electorate Gebhard von Truchsess, archbishop of Cologne, who had become a Calvinist (1583). These quarrels permitted the Catholics to regain ground, thanks to the cleverness of the Jesuits, who from Bavaria, their headquarters in Germany, extended their action to a distance. They caused the Protestants of Aix-la-Chapelle to be expelled, the republic of Donauwerth to be degraded from its rank as an imperial city, and prevented

a reformer from becoming bishop of Strasburg. Thus the plan of a Catholic restoration was being carried out in Germany.

The uneasy Protestants drew together and formed the Evangelical Union (1608). To this their adversaries opposed the Catholic League, the direction of which Austria under feeble princes abandoned to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.

The succession to Cleves, Berg, and Juliers (1609) came near setting Europe aflame. Two Protestant heirs presented themselves, the Duke of Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg. When the emperor sequestered the duchies, the Protestants complained and Henry IV was about to uphold them when he died by assassination (1610). The contention was prolonged. Neuburg became Catholic; Brandenburg, Calvinist. The Spaniards entered the country from one side and the Dutch from the other. At that moment the policy of Austria was changed by the accession of Ferdinand II, an energetic prince, who blew up with gunpowder the heretical churches in his states and on one occasion burned 10,000 Bibles.

Palatine Period (1618-1625).—The Bohemians, whose privileges he had violated, rose in revolt and chose Frederick, the elector palatine, son-in-law of the king of England, as their king (1618). Thus, just a century after the outbreak of the Reformation, began a struggle which repeated in Central Europe what we have already seen in the west; namely, a political war under the mask of a war for religion. Ferdinand II in fact was determined to make ultramontanism triumph, but like Philip II, he intended it to redound to his personal profit and to render Germany an Austrian province.

Frederick was a Calvinist. Hence the Lutherans deserted him, while the Spaniards on the contrary made common cause with the Austrians and their allies. When the battle of White Mountain, won by the forces of the League, delivered Bohemia to Ferdinand II, he committed abominable cruelties. Two centuries later the country still showed the effects of this sanguinary restoration of Catholicism.

The proscribed Bohemians were formed into an army by Count von Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick. They long held in check the Bavarian General Tilly and the Spaniards of the Netherlands who had come to his help.

Danish Period (1625-1629).—The Protestant princes had time to penetrate the designs of Ferdinand and call in the kings of the North, whom the defeat of the German Reformers would leave exposed to the blows of Austria. Christian IV, king of Denmark, was the first to enter the lists (1625) and occupied the country between the Elbe and the Weser. While he was arresting the forces of the Catholic League in that direction, in his rear an adventurer called Wallenstein was bringing to the emperor, who had no army, 50,000 men and later 100,000, who lived by pillage and whose leader reserved for himself the absolute command. Routed by Tilly at Lutter, and threatened by Wallenstein with being cut off from Holstein, the Danish king retreated to his peninsula and signed the peace of Lübeck (1629). Then northern Germany, despoiled by the edict of restitution and occupied by 100,000 Imperialists, bowed its head before the Austrian power. Wallenstein said openly "that no more princes or electors were needed in Germany; that everything there ought to be subject to a single king, as in France and Spain."

The French Cardinal Richelieu thwarted this plan. He sent secret emissaries to arouse the jealousy and the courage of the princes. At the Diet of Ratisbon, he persuaded them to demand the recall of Wallenstein, who was crushing Germany with his requisitions, and to refuse the title of King of the Romans to the son of Ferdinand II. At the same time, he induced Poland and Sweden to conclude a peace, so that the king of the latter, already so renowned under the name of Gustavus Adolphus, might be free to hasten to the succor of the Reformers.

Swedish Period (1630-1635).—That great captain took alarm when he saw Catholicism and the Austrians obtaining a foothold on the shores of the Baltic. He disembarked in Pomerania (1630) with 16,000 admirably

disciplined men. France could not join him in offensive alliance. But at least she promised him an annual subsidy of 400,000 crowns. When he had conquered Pomerania, he made his way into Saxony, defeated Tilly at Leipzig (1631), and expelled all the Catholic or Spanish garrisons from Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, and the Palatinate, while the Elector of Saxony invaded Lusatia and Bohemia. Having thus separated the Imperialists and the Spaniards, he entered Bavaria and forced the passage of the Lech, where Tilly was slain. But the emperor had recalled Wallenstein, who rapidly formed another army, flung himself upon Saxony, and forced Gustavus to come to its defense. The Swedish king won at Lutzen his last victory, and died in his triumph (1632). Skillful generals, his pupils, took his place at the head of the armies. The chancellor Oxenstiern succeeded him in the council. Ferdinand made their task easier by assassinating Wallenstein, of whose ambition he was afraid (1634). But that same year the defeat of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Nordlingen deprived Sweden of all her German allies except the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and Richelieu considered it necessary to set the armies of France in motion at last.

French Period (1635-1648).—At first he was unfortunate. The Spaniards crossed the Somme and took possession of Corbie. The court and Paris had a moment of terror. But Richelieu averted the danger, reconquered Corbie, and imposed victory upon his generals under pain of death. La Meilleraye and Châtillon captured Arras (1640). Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, bought by Richelieu, conquered Alsace, and dying shortly afterward, bequeathed his army and his conquest to France. D'Harcourt won three victories in Piedmont, which was then the ally of the Spaniards. The king himself marched to take possession of Perpignan, which is still French. In order to give Spain occupation at home, Richelieu encouraged revolts in Catalonia and Portugal. The Swedish generals Banner and Torstenson completed the French successes in the west by victories in Brandenburg, Silesia, and Saxony. Guébriant, triumphant at Wolfenbüttel and at Kempen (1641-1642), was effecting

his junction with the Swedes, so as to hurl their combined forces upon exhausted Austria, when Richelieu died (1643). His death emboldened the Spaniards, who invaded France. Condé routed them at Rocroi (1643), at Fribourg (1644), at Nordlingen (1645), and lastly at Lens (1648). Thus the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia was compelled.

RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Peace of Westphalia (1648).—Negotiations for peace had been begun in 1641, but were not seriously undertaken until 1644 in two cities of Westphalia. At the last moment Spain withdrew, hoping to profit by the troubles of the Fronde, which were then breaking out in France, and to regain Cerdagne, Roussillon, and Artois, which she had lost. The other states signed the treaty in October, 1648.

Religious Independence of the German States.—Austria had tried to stifle the religious liberties of Germany. Since she was vanquished, whatever she had wished to overthrow still existed. The princes enjoyed full liberty of conscience. Their subjects possessed it only under many restrictions; for in each state one religion dominated, either Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. No other religious organizations were recognized. These three obtained equality of rights. As to the possession of ecclesiastical property and the exercise of worship, everything was restored in Germany to the condition of 1624, except in the Palatinate, which was set back to the year 1618. Thus the territorial acquisitions and conversions, effected since the peace of Augsburg in 1555, were recognized. In order to indemnify the Protestant princes, many bishoprics and abbeys were secularized. It was a cardinal, Richelieu, who brought about this treaty. It was another cardinal, Mazarin, who signed it. Two princes of the Church had been the instruments to defeat ultramontanism and the papacy. It was a proof

that politics were no longer based upon creeds, and that temporal interests must henceforth depend solely on themselves.

Political Independence of the German States.—When Wallenstein was pressing upon Germany with his immense army and when Ferdinand II was distributing to his kinsmen the spoils of the princes, one might have thought that the dream of Otho the Great, of Frederick Barbarossa, and of Charles V was being realized, and that the unity of the empire was assured under the absolute authority of the emperor. France and the Swedes dispelled this dream. The German princes and states were assured the right of suffrage in the Diet on questions of alliance, war, treaty, and new laws. They were confirmed in the full and entire exercise of sovereignty in their territory. They had also the right to ally themselves with foreign powers, provided that it was not against the emperor or the empire. Thus the imperial authority was only a title and Germany henceforth formed not a state, but a confederation. For a long time Switzerland and Holland had been foreign to the empire. This separation in fact was formally recognized.

Acquisitions of Sweden and France.—The victors lacked moderation. Sweden caused such territories to be ceded her as placed in her hands the mouths of the three great German rivers, the Oder, Elbe, and Weser. These were useless acquisitions, because she could not keep them. They were dangerous acquisitions, because tempting her to interfere in continental wars, whereby she was to lose her good fortune. France retained Pignerol in Piedmont, that is to say, a door open upon Italy; also Alsace, a precious possession, and beyond the Rhine Vieux Brisach and Philipsburg, where she had the right to keep a garrison. Moreover by forcing recognition of the right of the German states to contract alliance with foreign powers, she always had the means of purchasing support among those indigent princes. Thus the French had on the west, like the Swedes on the north, an offensive position. Germany, divided into four or five hundred states, Lutheran and Catholic, monarchical and

republican, secular and ecclesiastical, was of necessity to become the theater of every intrigue and the battle-ground of Europe. Such, from the same causes, her divisions and anarchy, had been the condition of Italy at the beginning of modern times.

If the Bourbons had not inherited the ambition of the Hapsburgs and stirred up against themselves the same coalitions, the peace of Westphalia would have constituted the grandeur of France and the political liberty of Europe.

RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN. COMPLETION OF MONARCHICAL FRANCE

(1610-1661)

Minority of Louis XIII (1610-1617).—While the papacy, the chief power of the Middle Ages, was growing weaker, royalty, the chief power of modern times, was growing stronger. Richelieu had the genius to continue the work of Louis XI, of Francis I, and of Henry IV; but his ministry was preceded by fourteen troubled years which came near reversing their gains. The feeble regent, Marie de Medici, abandoned both the foreign and domestic policy of Henry IV. Her favorite Concini alienated the nobles, who revolted in order to force her to purchase their submission by offices and pensions. Then, to disguise their covetousness as a desire for the public welfare, they exacted the convocation of the States General, the last which was convoked before the French Revolution. At this assembly the Third Estate or the Commons showed a remarkable appreciation of the needs of the country. The nobility displayed its insulting contempt for the people, and the court its disdain for reforms. A second rebellion headed by Condé was appeased by bribes to the leaders. Finally Concini was killed and his wife burned alive on accusation of having bewitched the queen mother.

Louis XIII and his favorite, the Duke de Luynes, governed no better. The nobles now rebelled in behalf

of the mother against the son. A more serious war broke out in 1621. Incensed by the order to restore the ecclesiastical property which some of the reformers had seized, the Protestants revolted. They planned to found in the marshes of Aunis a French Holland, of which La Rochelle was to be the Amsterdam. De Luynes, who had appointed himself Constable of France, laid siege to Montauban. He failed and was himself carried off by a fever. The king succeeded the following year in expelling Soubise from the Isle of Ré and the Protestants sued for peace. The treaty of Montpellier confirmed the edict of Nantes, granted them La Rochelle and Montauban as cities of refuge, but forbade their holding any public meeting without the king's authorization.

Richelieu humbles the Protestants and the High Nobility.—Richelieu was raised to the ministry (1624) by the reviving influence of Marie de Medici. He resumed the grand policy of Louis XI and Henry IV. His twofold object was at home to destroy the power of the nobility and the independence of the Protestants, and abroad to humble the house of Austria. Like Louis XI he began too eagerly, but moderated his pace in time and attacked his different enemies in succession. Two treaties with the Protestants and Spain enabled him to turn all his forces against the nobles, whom he smote with terrible sentences. Marshal d'Ornano was thrown into the Bastile; the Count de Chalais was beheaded as a conspirator; Bouteville, Montmorency, and the Marquis de Beuvron were executed for dueling. At the same time the terrible cardinal deprived the nobles of the high dignities which gave them too much influence. The office of constable was abolished and that of grand admiral was brought in.

These acts of severity made the nobles pause. Richelieu found himself free to end with the French Protestants who were upheld by England, although by marrying Henrietta of France to the English king, Charles I, he had flattered himself that he could prevent any such alliance. La Rochelle was besieged. An immense dike closed the port to the English fleets. After

the most heroic resistance, when out of 30,000 inhabitants only 5000 remained, this capital of French Protestantism opened its gates (1628). The peace of Alais left to the Protestants the civil guarantees and the religious liberty which the edict of Nantes had given them, but their strongholds were dismantled. They ceased to form a state within the state, and the political unity of France was definitely reëstablished.

No sooner was La Rochelle subdued than the grandees formed about the king a cabal led by Marie de Medici, who did not find her former confessor, Richelieu, sufficiently docile. When common rumor reported him fallen in disgrace, a final interview with Louis XIII restored to him all his influence. The victims of that "Day of Dupes" were Marshal de Marillac, beheaded for extortion, and Marie de Medici, who retired into exile at Brussels (1631). After the king's mother, the king's brother Gaston d'Orleans incited to rebellion the Duke de Montmorency, whom he basely abandoned, and who on being made prisoner at the battle of Castelnaudary, died on the scaffold (1632). Another civil war undertaken by the Count of Soissons, a member of the house of Condé, suddenly ended with the death of that prince, who was slain at the battle of La Marfée (1641). The final conspiracy, that of Cinq Mars, might have succeeded, had not that favorite of Louis XIII ruined himself by signing a treaty with Spain. Cinq Mars was executed, together with De Thou, his too faithful friend (1642).

The great minister died during the following year. At home he had overcome every obstacle to the royal authority. Without equaling Sully, he had introduced some order into the finances. He had destroyed many feudal fortresses, and by the creation of intendants (1635) had diminished the hitherto excessive authority of the provincial governors. Abroad his services had been still more illustrious, as we have seen in the history of the Thirty Years' War.

Mazarin and the Fronde.—On the death of Louis XIII, France had again to undergo the reign of a minor. Louis XIV was only five years of age. His mother,

Anne of Austria, made Parliament intrust her with the regency contrary to the late king's will, which gave the power to a council. The regent confided the authority to Mazarin, a shrewd and supple minded Italian, obstinate rather than great. Sent as papal nuncio to France, he had been distinguished by Richelieu, who caused his nomination as a cardinal.

A reaction against the severe government of Richelieu immediately set in. Pensions, honors, and privileges were lavished by the "Good Queen," but they did not restrain the great lords, some of whom formed the cabal of "the Consequential Persons." The regent, or rather Mazarin, perceived the danger in time. Beaufort was sent to the Bastile, and Vendôme, Duchess de Chevreuse, and the rest "to their country houses."

The finances were in extreme disorder. Mazarin had neither financial instinct nor the necessary degree of self-sacrifice. To obtain money two unpopular edicts were issued. Mazarin demanded from the sovereign courts their salaries for four years as a loan. This time Parliament flew into a rage and undertook to play the part which the English Parliament had just assumed as reformer of the state. It proposed for the royal sanction twenty-seven articles, which forbade the collection of taxes until they had been verified and registered, abolished the office of the intendants, and prohibited any servant of the king being detained in durance for more than twenty-four hours without examination. Just then Condé won the victory of Lens. Mazarin, emboldened by this great success, had three councilors, Charton, Blancmesnil, and Broussel, arrested during the *Te Deum* (1648). Immediately the people rose; 200 barricades were constructed, and the court in order to gain time sanctioned the demands of Parliament. At that moment the treaty of Westphalia was being signed.

When peace was concluded with Austria, the regent summoned Condé to her presence. Immediately the Parliament party began raising troops. They were joined by many of the intriguing and covetous nobles. After a short war in which the insurgents were constantly beaten, peace was signed at Ruel (1649).

CENTRAL EUROPE
indicating
BATTLE FIELDS AND HISTORIC PLACES
FROM 1792 TO 1813
MILES
0 30 60 90 120
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
Thames R.
Ems R.
Weser R.
Ile Helder
(1799) Bergen
Rhine R.
HOLLAND
AMSTERDAM
WALCHEREN I.
Dunkirk
Breda
Dusseldorf
Antwerp
Ostend
(1793)
Brussels
Boulogne
Lille
Nerwinde (1793)
Cologne
Maestricht
Jemmapes (1792)
Valenciennes
Cambrai
Namur
Maubeuge
(1794)
Altenkirchen
Coblentz
Wattignies
Amiens
Mezieres
Sedan
Laon
Luxemburg
Soissons
Reims
Valmy (1792)
Longwy
Metz (1793)
Trevers
Mayence
Darmstadt
Manheim
Landau
Hanau (1813)
Frankfort
Francfort
Hesse Darmstadt
Hesse Cassel
Paris
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Chalons
Verdun
Wissembourg (1793)
Nancy
Rastadt
Heidelberg
Carlsruhe
Stuttgard
Ditzingen
Wurtzburg (1796)
Anspach
Nordlingen
Strasburg
Offenburg
Gunzburg
Ulm
Augsburg
Hohenlinden (1800)
Biberach (1796)
Memmingen
Troyes
Auxerre
Luneville
Dijon
Besancon
Neufchatel
Bale
Stockach (1799)
Moskirch (1800)
Pfullendorf
Constance
Zurich (1799)
Winterthur
Nevers
Berne
Lausanne
HELVETIC CONFEDERATION
Bourg l'Echise
Geneva
Clermont
Lyons
Gd. St. Bernard
Chambery
Grenoble
Gap
Avignon
Nice
Gulf of Genoa
Milan
Lodi
Arcola (1796)
Verona
Padua
Vicenza
Roveredo
Bassano
Botzen
Innsbruck
Placenza
Marengo (1800)
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Ferrara
Cherasco
Mondovi (1796)
Dego
Novi (1799)
Mantenotte
Savona
Acqui
Alessandria
Turin
Coni
Tenda
Milleſimo (1796)
Apennines
Munich
Lech R.
Isar R.
Inn R.
Danube R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Saone R.
Seine R.
Somme R.
Aisne R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Aar R.
Reuss R.
Adige R.
Po R.
Ticino R.
Var R.
Durance R.
Isere R.
Allier R.
Vienne R.
Oise R.
Sambre R.
Lahn R.
Elbe R.
Havel R.
Saale R.
Oder R.
Warta R.
Vistula R.
Netze R.
Brahe R.
Bug R.
Pripet R.
Dniester R.
Prut R.
Bug R.
Dwina R.
Niemen R.
Pregel R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Rhine R.
Thames R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Adige R.
Danube R.
Inn R.
Lech R.
Isar R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Moselle R.
Meuse R.
Somme R.
Ais

Engraved by Colton, Ohman & Co., N. Y.

This is the famous war of the Fronde, so called from a child's game. The haughty Condé, who had won the victory for the court, rendered himself unendurable to the queen and to Mazarin, who had him arrested. The provincial nobility took up arms in favor of the rebellious prince, and Turenne, drawn into rebellion by his passion for the Duchess de Longueville, was vanquished at Rethel by the royal troops. Thus Mazarin was triumphant, when Paul de Gondi, incensed at failing to obtain the cardinal's hat which had been promised him, rekindled the war of the Fronde. Mazarin was obliged to flee to Liège (1651). Fortunately Turenne returned to his allegiance and saved the king by his skill at Bléneau and at the battle of the Faubourg Saint Antoine (1652). Condé was compelled to flee to Flanders and entered the Spanish service. The Fronde was ended (1653). Two years afterwards, when Parliament wished to oppose the registration of several edicts, the young king, booted and whip in hand on his way from the chase, entered the hall and forbade that assembly to continue its deliberations.

Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659).—Peace being established at home, war abroad was prosecuted with energy. Turenne forced the Spanish lines before Arras (1654) and then won the battle of the Downs, which opened to him the Netherlands (1658). Several months later Mazarin signed the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). Spain renounced Roussillon, Cerdagne, and Artois. The Infanta Maria Theresa married Louis XIV, renouncing all claims on the crown of Spain, but Mazarin so managed matters that the renunciation should be void. In the preceding year he had concluded with many German princes the league of the Rhine, which Napoleon renewed a century and a half afterwards, though without greater profit to France.

Mazarin died in 1661. His administration without being grand had been clever. His financial management, disastrous for the treasury, had been lucrative for him and his friends. Nevertheless he left royalty free from all domestic obstacles, and France glorious in politics and arms, and even in letters and arts. Cor-

neille, Descartes, Pascal, and Poussin had long before begun what is called the century of Louis XIV.

ENGLAND FROM 1603 TO 1674

Europe in 1661.—Thus France was entering upon the most brilliant reign of her old monarchy. Meanwhile the two defeated powers of the religious wars, Spain and Austria, were dressing their wounds: the former listlessly, for she remained thirty-five years under a moribund king; the latter with the energy which Hungarian turbulence and the nearness of the Ottomans imposed, yet without either brilliancy or grandeur because of the insignificance of her princes. In Eastern Europe other ambitions were in motion, the Swedes against the Danes, the Russians against the Poles. The Turks from time to time were making terrible invasions, the last threats of an exhausted and declining power. The attention of mankind was not as yet seriously attracted in that direction, but was already fixed upon Louis XIV.

On examining the history of England during the Thirty Years' War we shall perceive that to the humiliation of the house of Austria in its Spanish and imperial branches corresponds the political abasement of Great Britain during the same period, condemned to civil war or impotency by the secret or avowed Catholicism of its kings.

Accession of the Stuarts.—James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart and great-grandson of Henry VII, succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. He wore the two crowns without as yet uniting the two states in one. He abandoned the Protestant policy which in the preceding reign had saved England. He refused to coöperate in the projects of Henry IV, sought alliance with Spain, and remained almost indifferent to the ruin of his son-in-law, the elector palatine. Nevertheless he upheld Anglicanism against the Catholics, who formed the Gunpowder Plot (1615), and against the Non-Conformists, whom he persecuted without pity. Elizabeth had bequeathed

to him absolute power. But a firm and glorious hand is required to exercise unfettered authority and under a vain and feeble prince Parliament was no longer docile. In vain did James send five deputies to the Tower in 1614. The Commons refused subsidies. In order to obtain money which his extravagance rendered necessary, he had recourse to the most shameful traffic, put the court offices and judicial functions up at auction, created and sold titles, and then wasted the riches shamefully acquired upon greedy favorites, of whom the most notorious was George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham.

When the Thirty Years' War broke out, James took advantage of the perils which Protestantism in Germany was incurring to summon a new Parliament. But the Commons granted subsidies only on condition that justice should be done to the nation's grievances. The old spirit of liberty, repressed by the Tudors, was awakening. The king again dissolved the assembly (1622). Allured by the bait of a rich dowry, he sought for his son the hand of an infanta of Spain. This was a fresh outrage to the keenest feelings of the English people, but the plan failed, thanks to the folly of Buckingham. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII, was almost as unpopular, because it placed a Catholic princess upon the throne of England. James I died in 1625. He published the *True Law of Free Monarchy* wherein he expounded the divine right of kings. The Anglican clergy, in its canons of 1608 erecting this right into a dogma, made absolute obedience to the reigning prince an article of faith. Thus the alliance of the altar and the throne against the public liberties was everywhere ratified, even in the heart of the Reformation.

Charles I (1625-1649).—Charles I, a prince of sedate and pure character, thus found himself from childhood imbued with the principles of despotism. His wife showed the Catholics a preference which wounded the nation. Buckingham, who had contrived to remain the favorite of the son as he had been the favorite of the father, retained an influence which diminished the respect of the country for the king. The struggle with

the Commons immediately began afresh. This assembly was composed of the younger sons of the nobility and of citizens of the middle class, who, having grown rich under Elizabeth and James, filled all the liberal professions. It was the practice to vote the customs duties for the whole duration of the reign. The lower Chamber granted them only for one year and Charles in anger dismissed the assembly. The Parliament of 1626 went still farther. It impeached Buckingham and was immediately prorogued. In the hope of acquiring some popularity Buckingham persuaded Charles I to support the Protestants of France and conducted a fleet to the rescue of La Rochelle. The expedition failed through the incapacity of the general (1627).

This check encouraged the Commons, who forced the king to give his sanction to the Petition of Right and addressed to him two remonstrances, one against the illegal collection of the customs duties, the other against his favorite, who was described as the author of the public wretchedness. The king again prorogued Parliament, and John Felton, a fanatic, assassinated Buckingham (1628). Charles then called to the ministry Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, and decided to govern without a Parliament, that is to say, contrary to the spirit of the British constitution.

But without Parliament there were no subsidies, and consequently no means of taking part in the great events which were agitating Europe. This inaction discredited the English government in the eyes of its own subjects. The enormous fines imposed upon opponents and the cruelty of Laud toward the dissenters, as in torturing Leighton and Prynne, intensified the general discontent. The prevailing sentiment was manifest in the intense sympathy shown John Hampden when he opposed the tax of ship-money by legal resistance (1636). Scotland had been attacked in its Presbyterian polity by Laud. It protested by an insurrection at Edinburgh (1637), and formed the political and religious league of the Covenant (1638), against which the English army led by Strafford refused to fight (1640).

After eleven years without the Chambers, the king

confessed himself vanquished and convoked a fourth Parliament. It refused the least subsidy until justice should be done to the complaints of the nation, and was speedily prorogued. Compelled by necessity the king assembled a fifth Parliament (1640), which is famous in history as the Long Parliament. Exceeding its original purpose, it took charge of the taxes and of the judicial authority, abolished extraordinary tribunals, proclaimed its own periodical character, and impeached of high crimes the Earl of Strafford, whose head fell upon the block (1641). Meanwhile a formidable insurrection broke out among the Irish, who slew 40,000 Protestants. When the king asked for means to reduce the rebels, Parliament replied by bitter remonstrances, and voted the militia bill, which put the army under its own control. Charles endeavored to arrest the leaders of the opposition in the very midst of the assembly. Failing in his purpose he quitted London to begin the civil war (1642).

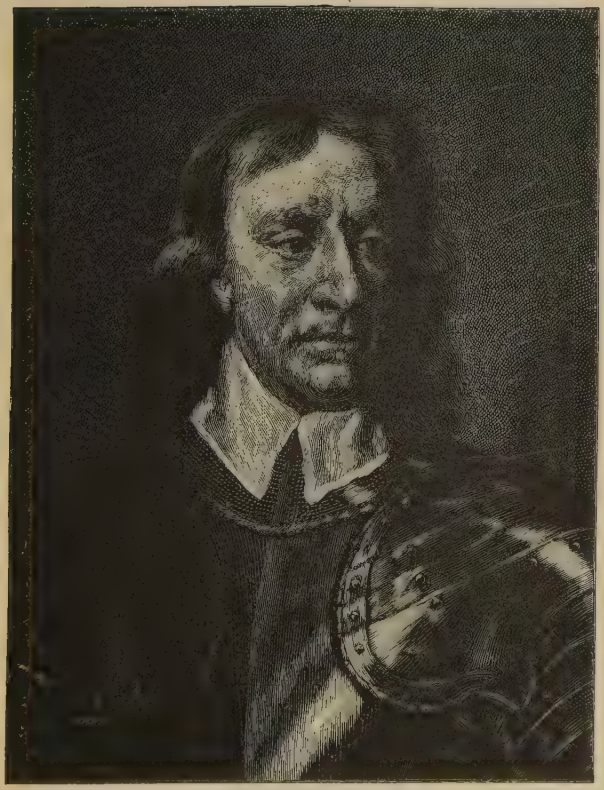
The Civil War (1642-1647).—Parliament held the capital, the great cities, the seaports, and the fleet. The king was followed by most of the nobility, who were better trained to arms than the burgher militia. In the northern and western counties the Royalists or Cavaliers were in the majority. The Parliamentarians or Roundheads predominated in the east; the center and the southeast, which were the richest sections, were close together, and formed a sort of belt round London. At first the king had the advantage. From Nottingham, where he had raised his standard, he marched upon London. The Parliamentarians, defeated at Edge Hill and Worcester (1642), redoubled their energy. Hampden raised a regiment of infantry among his tenants, friends, and neighbors. Oliver Cromwell, then beginning to emerge from obscurity, formed in the eastern counties from the sons of farmers and small landed proprietors select squadrons, who opposed religious enthusiasm to the sentiments of honor which animated the Cavaliers. The Parliamentarians, victorious at Newbury, allied themselves with the Scotch by a solemn covenant.

Parliament was composed of various parties. The

chief were Presbyterians, who though abolishing grades in the Church wished to preserve them in the state, and the Independents, who rejected both the peerage and the episcopacy, both the temporal and religious sovereignty of the king. Around the latter were the numerous sects derived from Puritanism, such as Levelers, Anabaptists, and Millenarians. Their leaders were clever men. Ablest of all was Oliver Cromwell, an ambitious and sphinx-like genius, a politician, and an enthusiast. With his squadrons surnamed Ironsides, he won the battle of Marston Moor in 1644 and then that of Newbury, which saved the revolution. These successes helped the Independents, although a minority in Parliament, to pass the self-denying ordinance which excluded the deputies from public affairs. This was equivalent to handing over the army to the Independents. Cromwell then prosecuted the war with vigor. The king's last army was crushed at Naseby (1645), while his lieutenant Montrose was beaten by the Scotch Covenanters. The disheartened king withdrew through weariness to the camp of the Scotch, who sold him to Parliament for 400,000 pounds sterling (1647).

Execution of Charles I (1649).—The Presbyterians would gladly have treated with their captive. Supported by the army, Cromwell "purged" Parliament of the Presbyterian deputies, and the Independents cited the king before a court of justice, which sent him to the scaffold (January 30, 1649). His bloody death caused his acts of violence and perfidy to be forgotten. It revived the monarchical creed of England and royalty again became popular on the day when the head of the king rolled from under the axe of the executioner.

The Commonwealth of England (1649-1660). **Cromwell.**—The Republic was proclaimed. Catholic Ireland and Scotland, who remembered that the Stuarts were of Scottish race, protested against the revolution which had been accomplished. Cromwell subdued the former by an atrocious war. By the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, he forced the latter to recognize the authority of the Parliament of London (1651). The new government announced its foreign policy by the daring but sagacious



OLIVER CROMWELL IN ARMOR

From the Painting by Pieter van der Faes, Frequently Attributed to Sir Peter Lely, and now in the Gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence

Navigation Act. Thereby it prohibited the entrance into English ports of all vessels laden with merchandise, not produced on the soil or by the people whose flag the vessel bore. This act remained in force until January 1, 1850. In consequence England was forced to develop her manufactures and her marine. To the Dutch, "the teamsters of the sea," this measure meant ruin, and they declared war, but were defeated.

The country was tired of the Long Parliament, now called the Rump. One day Cromwell went to the hall of session, announced to the deputies that God was no longer with them, and had them driven out by his soldiers, who fastened to the door this notice, "House to let" (1653). But some time later he formed another Parliament, which he declared convoked in the name of the Holy Spirit and which he soon dissolved. Then he had himself proclaimed Lord Protector. He was king without the name. He employed his power for the welfare and greatness of his country. At home he insured order and developed commerce and industry. Abroad he beheld his alliance entreated by Spain and sought by France. Blake, his admiral, thrice defeated the Dutch and forced them to abandon hope of provisioning the English market. The Spaniards lost their galleons as well as Jamaica and Dunkirk. The Barbary States were chastised; the Pope was threatened with hearing "the English cannon thunder at the Castle of San Angelo" if his persecution of the Reformed Party did not cease. Thus Cromwell resumed the rôle which the Stuarts had abandoned, and which Louis XIV was about to abandon, of defender of Protestant interests. Unfortunately for England he retained power only five years (1658). His son Richard succeeded, but could not replace him and abdicated after a few months. England relapsed into anarchy. The clever General Monk paved the way for the return of monarchy. He dissolved the Rump Parliament, which had again assembled, formed a Parliament devoted to himself, and the combined Tories and Whigs recalled the Stuarts without conditions (1660).

It was an error to declare that twenty years of revolu-

tion had passed over England in vain, and to believe that the ancient order of things could be reëstablished unchanged. That mistake was soon to render necessary a second revolution. Moreover the despotism of the Tudors was not according to the ancient order of things, for the oldest thing in England was public liberty, which had been temporarily eclipsed by the fatigue of thirty years' warfare during the struggle of the Roses. Then had come the Reformation which had engrossed all minds, and the war with Philip II, when the very existence of England had been at stake. Confronted by such perils, the country had allowed the authority of its kings to increase. But now that Spain was dying and France no longer threatening and the religious questions definitely settled, England wished to reënter her ancient path.

Charles II (1660-1685).—Charles II seemed at first to understand the state of the popular mind. He remained faithful to Anglican Protestantism and permitted the Parliament to enjoy its ancient prerogatives. But frivolous and debauched, he soon found himself forced through need of money to make himself dependent upon the Commons for the sake of receiving subsidies, or upon some foreign power for the purpose of obtaining therefrom a pension. His choice was quickly made. The spectacle of France and of her king revived in him the despotic instincts of his fathers. The dread of Parliament, of its remonstrances and its complaints, threw him into the arms of Louis XIV. He sold to him Mardick and Dunkirk, two of Cromwell's conquests (1662). After the triple alliance of The Hague (1666), which his people imposed upon him that they might arrest France in the Netherlands, he sold himself. Louis paid him a pension of 2,000,000 francs until his death.

But the fear of anarchy, which in 1660 had prostrated England at the feet of Charles II, had vanished. Little by little, there had been formed in the heart of the nation and in Parliament an opposition, which in 1674 was strong enough to extort the Test Bill. This bill was the prelude to the second and imminent revolution. Let us pause for a time at this point in the history of

Charles II. Under him during the first part of the reign of Louis XIV, England counted no more in continental affairs than did Spain or the empire. Later on we shall trace the events which will hurl the Stuarts from the throne and give to Great Britain the leadership in the opposition to France.

LOUIS XIV FROM 1661 TO 1685

Colbert.—After the death of Mazarin Louis XIV announced his intention of governing without any prime minister. This sovereign, then aged twenty-four, throughout his after life kept the pledge which he had taken to exercise manfully his royal trade. His was not a great intellect, and yet despite his faults he was a great king. At least during the first half of his reign, he practiced the chief art of sovereigns, which is to understand how to choose good depositaries of their power.

Colbert, intrusted from 1661 to 1683 with the finances, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the navy, caused all these branches of the national activity to prosper. The period of his ministry is the most glorious in the reign of Louis XIV, for he moderated the king's ambition and developed the national forces. He found a debt of 430,000,000 francs, the revenues expended two years in advance, and the treasury receiving only 35,000,000 out of the 84,000,000 of annual taxes. He severely investigated cases of fraud, reduced such taxes as were imposed only on the humbler classes, but increased the indirect imposts which everyone paid. Every year he drew up a sort of national budget, and raised the net revenue of the treasury to 89,000,000. He encouraged industry by subsidies, and protected it by tariffs which imposed heavy duties upon similar products from abroad.

In order to facilitate business and transportation, internal customs-duties were abolished in many provinces, highways were repaired or created, and the canal of

Languedoc was constructed between the ocean and the Mediterranean. He organized the five great commercial companies of the East Indies, the West Indies, the Levant, Senegal, and the North, which competed with the merchants of London and Amsterdam; and he encouraged the merchant marine by bounties. The military marine developed such vigorous life that in 1692 it became possible to equip more than 300 vessels of all sizes. Thanks to the Maritime Inscription, which furnished 70,000 mariners, the recruiting of the crews was insured. The port of Rochefort was created, that of Dunkirk was bought back from the English, Brest and Toulon were enlarged, and a magnificent colonial empire, founded in the Antilles and in North America, would have delivered that continent to French influence had men understood how to carry out the plans of the great minister.

Louvois.—At the same time Louvois was organizing the army, which he compelled to wear a uniform. He created the companies of grenadiers and hussar corps, and introduced the bayonet. He founded the artillery schools of Douai, Metz, and Strasburg, organized thirty regiments of militia which the communes equipped, and companies of cadets, in which originated the school of Saint Cyr and the Polytechnique. Furthermore he subjected even officers of noble birth to strict discipline. A great engineer and patriotic citizen, Vauban, fortified the frontiers.

War with Flanders (1667).—Louis XIV, dazzled by the forces which two clever ministers placed at his disposal, conducted himself arrogantly toward all the foreign powers. He exacted from the Pope and from the king of Spain ample satisfaction for insults to the French ambassadors, chastised the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers, and, abandoning the policy of Francis I, sent 6000 men to aid the emperor against the Ottomans, and thus made himself ostensibly the protector of the empire. At the death of Philip IV, availing himself of the right of devolution in force in Brabant, he claimed to inherit the Spanish Netherlands through his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest sister of the new king of Spain,

Charles II. Holland and England were at first neutral. Spain thus left alone could not defend herself. The French armies in three months' time captured the strongholds of western Flanders, and in seventeen days in the depth of winter overran all Franche-Comté (1668). Then the maritime powers took the alarm. Holland, England, and Sweden concluded the triple alliance of The Hague. As the king lacked audacity on the one day when it was most essential, he signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left him only a dozen such towns as Charleroy, Douai, Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lille (1668).

The War with Holland (1672).—Four years of peace were employed in preparing a terrible storm against a little country, Holland. Colbert, who wished to develop the maritime commerce of France, grew anxious at the 15,000 merchant vessels of the Dutch. Moreover, when he imposed exorbitant duties on their cloths, they retaliated by onerous duties on French wines and brandies. Therefore Colbert did not oppose a war which seemed likely to rid French commerce of a formidable rival. Louvois desired war to render himself necessary. Louis XIV declared it that he might humble those republicans who had just placed a check on his good fortune. Thereby he abandoned the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu, which was the protection of small states and of Protestantism and opposition to useless conquests. Louis XIV, however, was far more the successor of Philip II than the heir of Henry IV and of the great cardinal.

Having subsidized Sweden and England, he suddenly deluged (1672) Holland with 100,000 men commanded by Turenne and Condé. The Rhine was passed. All the strongholds opened their gates and the French encamped at four leagues' distance from Amsterdam. But the delays of Louis XIV saved the Dutch. They deposed and murdered their Grand Pensioner, Jan de Witt, put in his place as stadtholder William of Orange, who opened the locks, flooded the country, and forced the invaders to retreat before the inundation. At the same time he formed a formidable coalition against Louis.

Spain, the emperor, many German princes, and even England, though her king was pensioned by Louis, joined Holland.

France made headway everywhere. The king in person subjugated Franche-Comté (1674). Turenne by an admirable campaign drove the imperialists out of Alsace; but was killed himself the following year. Condé after the bloody battle of Senef no longer commanded an army, and Luxembourg and Crequi were poor substitutes for the two great generals. Meanwhile the invasion of France, on the north by the Spaniards, and on the east by the imperialists, was repulsed. Duquesne and d'Estrées defeated the fleets of Holland and ravaged her colonies. His abandonment by England decided Louis to accept the treaty of Nimeguen, which awarded him Franche-Comté with fourteen Flemish strongholds, and forced Denmark and Brandenburg to restore all the conquests which they had made from Sweden. Thus France emerged greater than before from a struggle with all Europe. The French northern and eastern frontiers became farther from Paris. But this proudest period of the reign was also the point of departure for the calamities which were soon to follow. The war with Holland had directed against France the coalitions which France had formerly organized against Austria, and had founded the good fortune of William of Orange, who a few years afterwards became king of England.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).—Thus that war was a first mistake. Other similar mistakes were sure to follow, for after the death of Colbert in 1683 the hard and narrow influence of Louvois and of Madame de Maintenon was no longer counteracted. "If it hath not pleased God," said Henry IV, in the preamble to the edict of Nantes, "to permit His Holy Name to be adored by all our subjects in one and the same form of religion, let it at least be adored with the same intent . . .; and pray ye unto the Divine Goodness that He may make men understand that in the observance of this ordinance exists the principal foundation of their union, tranquillity, and repose, and of the reëstablish-

ment of this State in its pristine splendor." These glowing words had worthily inaugurated the new era which Richelieu and Mazarin continued abroad by their Protestant alliances, and at home by their respect for religious liberty.

But Louis XIV, intoxicated with his omnipotence and led astray by the fatal counsels of a party, which during three centuries had ruined every cause which it defended, undertook to repudiate the toleration of Henry IV as he had repudiated his diplomacy. As he allowed in his kingdom but one will, his own, and but one law, that of the absolute prince, so he wished that there should be but one religion, Catholicism. To convert the Protestants he first sent into the cantons where they were numerous booted missionaries or the dragonades. In 1685 he officially revoked the edict of Nantes. The Reformers were bound to undergo conversion or to leave the kingdom. Their children were taken from them by force to be reared in the Catholic Church. They had furnished to French industries its most skillful workmen. Two or three hundred thousand quitted the kingdom, among whom were 9000 sailors, 12,000 soldiers, and 600 officers. One suburb of London was peopled by these refugees. Berlin and Brandenburg welcomed great numbers. Foreigners became possessed of the secrets of the French manufactures. Among the learned men who during the last century and a half have been the honor of Holland, Germany, England, and even of Italy, there are many descendants of the exiles of Louis XIV.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

(1688)

Awakening of Liberal Ideas in England (1673-1679).—The reply of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the edict of Nantes was the English revolution, which hurled from the throne the Catholic James II and placed thereon the Calvinist William III.

Charles II had hired himself out to Louis XIV, but

England had not ratified the bargain. In 1668 she forced her king to join the Swedes and Dutch in rescuing the Spanish Netherlands. Again in 1674 she compelled him to renounce the French alliance, and then by opposing France to bring about the peace of Nimeguen. The king, defeated on a political question, was defeated again on a question of religion. He was suspected of favoring Catholicism. Therefore Parliament voted the Test Bill, which obliged officials to declare under oath that they did not believe in transubstantiation. Thus public employment was closed to Catholics and their exclusion lasted until 1829. The Popish plot, imagined by the wretched Titus Oates, and the memory of the fire of London in 1666 which had been attributed to the Catholics, provoked extremely rigorous measures. Eight Jesuits were hanged. Viscount Stafford was beheaded in spite of his seventy years, and the Duke of York, the king's brother, who had abjured Protestantism, was threatened with deprivation of his rights to the crown. In order to restrain the royal despotism the Whigs or liberals who controlled Parliament passed the famous bill of habeas corpus in 1679, which confirmed the law of personal security written in Magna Charta, and so often violated. Every prisoner must be examined by the judge within twenty-four hours after his arrest, and released or set at liberty under bail if the proofs were insufficient.

Catholic and Absolutist Reaction. James II (1685).— Thus Parliament at the same time repressed the dissenters and the court. The English were peacefully effecting their internal revolution when the violent put everything in peril. The Puritans rose in Scotland. They were crushed and a new Test Bill imposed upon the Scotch passive obedience to the king. At London a conspiracy to prevent the Duke of York from succeeding his brother led to the execution of many Whig chiefs and to the exile of others. Thus the liberal party was defeated. So James II quietly took possession of the throne in 1685, the year when the edict of Nantes was revoked. His nephew Monmouth and the Duke of Argyle tried hard to overthrow him, but both perished

after the defeat of Sedgemoor, and the odious Jeffries sent many of their partisans to the block. If the Anglican clergy and those among the aristocracy who were called Tories or conservatives were disposed to pardon the Stuarts for their despotism, they had no intention of allowing royalty by right divine, *a deo rex, a rege lex,* to bring back Catholicism, which surely would demand restitution of the immense church property which they had seized. When James sent to the Vatican a solemn embassy to reconcile England with the Roman Church, the archbishop of Canterbury protested. He was thrown into the tower with six of his suffragans.

Fall of James II (1688). **Declaration of Rights. William III** (1689).—These acts of violence together with the birth in 1688 of a Prince of Wales whose mother was an Italian Catholic, and whose rights of inheritance would precede those of the Calvinist William of Orange, the son-in-law of James II, made the stadtholder of Holland accede to the propositions of the Whigs. James deserted by all fled to France, and Parliament proclaimed William III king. It first made him sign the Declaration of Rights, which substituted royalty by consent for royalty by divine right, and which contained nearly all the guarantees of a free government: the periodical convocation of Parliament, the voting of taxes, laws made by the joint consent of the Chambers and the king, and the right of petition. A few months later Locke, one of those whom James II had persecuted, set forth the theory of the revolution of 1688, by recognizing national sovereignty and liberty as the sole legitimate and durable principles of a government.

A New Political Right.—Thus a new right, that of the people, arose in modern society in opposition to the absolute right of kings, and humanity entered upon a new stage of its journey. Feudalism had been an advance over Carlovingian barbarism. Royalty had been likewise an advance over mediæval feudalism. After having constituted the modern nations, developed commerce and industry, favored the blossoming of the arts and letters, royalty undertook to render its absolute right eternal, and demanded of the Catholic Church to aid it in main-

taining itself therein. England had the good fortune, thanks to her insular position and to her traditions, to grasp the principle which was destined to be that of the future. To her wisdom she already owes two centuries of tranquillity amid the ruins which have been crumbling around her.

COALITIONS AGAINST FRANCE

(1688-1714)

Formation of the League of Augsburg (1686).—In the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, France took in hand the defense of Protestantism and of the general liberties of Europe against the Hapsburgs of Madrid and of Vienna and against the ultramontanism of the Vatican. But with Louis XIV she threatened the conscience of the adherents of the Reformation and the independence of states. England took up the rôle which France was abandoning and grew mighty in it, as had done Henry IV and Richelieu.

While the Protestants who had been expelled from France carried in all directions their resentment against Louis, he wantonly braved Europe by aggressions made in time of peace. By duplicity he gained possession of twenty cities, among which was Strasburg (1681). He treated the Pope with arrogance and compelled the Doge of Genoa to come and humble himself at Versailles. He bought Casal in Italy so as to dominate the valley of the Po, claimed a part of the Palatinate as the dowry of his sister-in-law, opposed the installation of the archbishop of Cologne, and occupied Bonn, Neuss, and Kaiserwerth. The Powers, rendered uneasy by such ambition, formed as early as 1686 the League of Augsburg, which England joined in 1689.

War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697).—Louis directed his first blows against William. He gave James II a magnificent reception, and furnished him with a fleet and army, which landed in Ireland but lost the battle of the Boyne. Tourville, forced by the king's

orders to attack ninety-nine vessels with forty-four, suffered the disaster of La Hogue (1692). Thenceforth the sea belonged to the English and French commerce was at their mercy despite the exploits of bold captains like Jean Bart. On land the French maintained the advantage. Luxembourg beat the allies at Fleurus, and Neerwinden. Catinat occupied Piedmont and assured its possession by the victories of Staffarde and La Marsaille. But France was exhausting herself in an unequal struggle. " Half of the kingdom," wrote Vauban, " lives on the alms of the other half." Moreover Charles II of Spain was dying. The Spanish succession was at last about to be thrown open, and Europe needed repose in order to prepare herself for this event. Hoping to obtain peace, Louis instigated dissensions among his enemies. The desertion of the Duke of Savoy, to whom his states and even Pignerol were restored, induced the allies to sign the treaty of Ryswick (1697). Louis XIV recognized William III as king of England, restored to the empire with the exception of Alsace whatever had been awarded him, put the Duke of Lorraine again in possession of his duchy, but kept the west of San Domingo, Landau, and Sarrelouis.

War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714).—At Madrid the elder branch of the house of Austria was about to become extinct. France, Austria, and Bavaria each disputed the inheritance of Charles II. Louis XIV asserted the rights of his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest child of Philip IV. Leopold I had married her younger sister, Margarita. The Elector of Bavaria laid claim in the name of his minor son, the grandson of this same Margarita. The first plan for the partition of the Spanish monarchy, favorably entertained by William, was rejected by Charles II, who preferred the boy duke of Bavaria. That youth died. France and Austria being thus left as the only claimants, Charles by a will bequeathed his estates to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, in the hope of preserving the integrity of his monarchy.

Louis was alarmed at this increasing greatness of the French Bourbons. Louis XIV alarmed it still more by

preserving for the new king, Philip V, his rights of eventual succession to the crown of Saint Louis. Such succession would have reëstablished to the advantage of France the enormous power of Charles V. Louis posted French garrisons in the Spanish Netherlands to the great consternation of Holland. Then on the death of James II he recognized his son as king of England, thereby openly violating the treaty of Ryswick (1701). A new league was soon concluded at The Hague between England and the United Provinces. Prussia, the empire, Portugal, and even the Duke of Savoy, the father-in-law of Philip V, successively joined it (1701-1703). Three superior men, Heinsius, Grand Pensioner of Holland, Marlborough, leader of the Whig party in England, a clever diplomat and great general, and Prince Eugene, a Frenchman who had emigrated to Austria, guided the coalition. France had Chamillart to replace Colbert and Louvois. Fortunately her generals, except the incapable Villeroi, were better than her ministers.

Austria began hostilities by reverses. Eugene was defeated at Luzzara by the Duke of Vendôme (1702), as was another imperial army at Friedlingen and at Hochstedt by Villars. But Marlborough landed in the Netherlands, and the Archduke Charles in Portugal. The Duke of Savoy deserted France and the Camisards rose in the Cévennes. The loss of the second terrible battle of Hochstedt or Blenheim drove the French out of Germany (1704). The battle of Ramillies gave the Netherlands to the allies; that of Turin gave them Milan and the kingdom of Naples (1706). Toulon was menaced (1707). To arrest the enemy in the Netherlands Louis XIV collected another magnificent army. It was put to rout at Oudenarde. Lille surrendered after two months of siege (1708). The winter of 1709 added its rigors to the French disasters and Louis sued for peace. The allies required that he should himself expel his grandson from Spain. He preferred to continue the fight. Villars had still 100,000 men. They were defeated at Malplaquet.

In the meantime Vendôme secured the throne of Spain to Philip V by the victory of Villaviciosa (1710), and the Archduke Charles, the candidate of the allies, be-

came emperor of Germany by the death of his brother (1711). The European balance of power would have been disturbed in a much more threatening manner by his uniting to the imperial crown the crowns of Naples and Spain, than by Philip V at Madrid. Thus England had no more interest in this war. The Whigs who wished to continue it fell from power, and the Tory ministry that replaced them entered upon negotiations with France. Several months later the imperial army was beaten at Denain by Villars. This glorious victory hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed at Utrecht, by England, Portugal, Savoy, Prussia, and Holland (1713).

Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt (1713-1714).—Louis accepted the succession as established in England by the revolution of 1688, ceded to the English the island of Newfoundland, pledged himself to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and agreed that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one and the same head. Holland obtained the right of placing garrisons in most of the strongholds of the Spanish Netherlands so as to prevent their falling into the hands of France. The Duke of Savoy received Sicily with the title of king. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as king of Prussia, having just purchased that title from the emperor. The latter, left alone, continued the war, but the capture of Landau and Freiburg induced him to sign the treaty of Rastadt (1714) by which he acquired some of the foreign possessions of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the fortresses of Tuscany.

France made many sacrifices, but Spain, no longer distracted by her Netherlands, became her natural ally instead of being as for two centuries her constant enemy. This change meant security on the southern French frontier and hence greater strength in the northeast. Louis XIV died shortly afterwards (1715). He had reigned seventy-two years.

Louis XIV the Personification of Monarchy by Divine Right.—He left the kingdom without commerce, without manufactures, drained of men and money, with a public

debt which would amount at the present day to $1,600,000,000. Thus the setting of that long reign did not fulfill the promise of its dawn. The acquisition of two provinces, Flanders and Franche-Comté, and of several cities, Strasburg, Landau, and Dunkirk, was a small compensation for the frightful misery which France endured and which she might have been spared, had Louis remained faithful to the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu. Moreover she had declined in just the same degree as others had risen. Spain had not recovered her strength. Austria still remained feeble. But two youthful royal houses, Sardinia and Prussia, formed in Italy and Germany the corner-stones of mighty edifices whose proportions could not as yet be described, and England already grasped the rôle, which she was to retain for a century and a half, of the preponderant power in Europe by virtue of her commerce, her navy, her colonies, and her gold.

By the matchless brilliancy of his court, his magnificent festivals, his sumptuous buildings, his taste for arts and letters; by his lofty bearing, the dignity which he showed in everything, the serene confidence which he cherished in his rights and his superior intelligence, Louis was the most majestic incarnation of royalty. To him is attributed the saying: "I am the state." In consequence of the energetic centralization which placed all France at Versailles, and Versailles in the study of the prince, the saying was true. He firmly believed, and others believed with him, that the property as well as the lives of his subjects belonged to him; that he was their intelligence, their will, their spring of action; that is to say, that 20,000,000 of men lived in him and for him. But his errors, his vices, were sacred also, like those of the gods of Olympus whose images filled his palaces. At need the judiciary served his passions, the army his caprices, the public treasury his pleasures, and debauchery became a royal institution which conferred on the mistresses of the king rank at court.

Such a government might suit the Orient, which knows only force and submits to it with resignation. It could

not last in our Western world, where humanity has come to consciousness of itself and of its lofty rights. By developing manufactures and commerce and consequently the fortunes of his people, and by favoring arts and letters, or in other words the development of the mind, Louis himself paved the way for the formation of two new powers which were destined, first to undermine, then to overthrow his system.

ARTS, LETTERS, AND SCIENCES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Letters and Arts in France.—The sixteenth century effected religious reform. The eighteenth was to effect political reform. Placed between these two revolutionary ages, the seventeenth was and has stood forth, especially in France, as the great literary epoch. The generations which live in stormy times rise higher and descend lower, but never reach that calm beauty which is the reflection of a peaceful yet fertile age, where art is its own end and its own recompense. Long before Louis XIV took the government in hand and reigned by himself (1661), France had already reaped half of the literary glory which the seventeenth century had in store. Many of her great writers had produced their masterpieces and nearly all were in full possession of their talent. The *Cid* was acted in 1636, and the *Discourse on Method* appeared in 1637.

Thus the magnificent harvest, then garnered by French intellect, germinated and fructified of itself. When under Henry IV and Richelieu, calm succeeded to the sterile agitation of religious struggles, intellectual questions took the precedence over those of war; and when several great men appeared, all the higher society followed them. People discussed a beautiful verse as formerly they had discussed a handsome gun. They would even have lost themselves in the mental refinements and elaborate subtleties of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, had it not been for the manly accents of Cor-

neille and of his heroes, the supreme good sense of Molière, Boileau, and La Fontaine, the biblical eloquence of Bossuet, the energy of Pascal, and the penetrating grace of Racine. On that roll of honor let us also place the names of Madame de Sévigné for her *Letters,* of La Rochefoucauld for his *Maxims,* of La Bruyère for his *Characters,* of Fénelon for his *Télémaque,* of Saint Simon for his formidable *Memoirs,* and of Bourdaloue for his *Sermons.*

Such learned men as Casaubon, Scaliger, Saumaise, du Cange, Baluze, and the Benedictines illumined the confusion of our origin and gave us a better acquaintance with antiquity. Bayle continued the traditions of Rabelais and of Montaigne. Descartes was the great revolutionist of the time, demanding that the mind should banish all preëxisting ideas, so as to be free from all prejudice and all error and thus admit only such truths as evidence should invincibly force upon the reason. Through prudence Descartes veiled the eyes of his contemporaries to the consequences of his *Method,* yet that method became the essential condition of philosophical progress. It is the law of science and it will become the law of the world.

At that time France possessed four painters of high rank: Poussin, Lesueur, Claude Lorraine, and at some distance from them Lebrun; one admirable sculptor, Puget; the talented architects, Mansart and Perrault; and a clever musician, Lulli.

Letters and Arts in Other Countries.—In Italy there was literary as well as political decline. In Spain appeared Lope de Vega and Calderon. The *Don Quixote* of Cervantes belongs in date and subject to another century when men still thought of the Middle Ages, even though only with ridicule. Then England boasted her glorious literary age with Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Addison. Germany was passing through her age of iron. The Reformation, which had fallen into the hands of princes as Italian Catholicism had into the hands of the Jesuits, seems to have arrested thought.

The Dutch Grotius and the Swede Puffendorf settled the rights of peace and war according to the principles

of humanity and justice. The English Hobbes, a pensioner of Charles II, maintained in his *Leviathan* that war was the natural state of humanity and that men needed a good despot to keep them from cutting each other's throats. This was the theory of absolute power according to philosophy, as Bossuet had expounded it according to religion. This doctrine was happily refuted by another philosopher, Locke, in his essay on *Civil Government*. Therein the councilor of William III demonstrated that civil society is subjected to the established power not otherwise than by the consent of the community. "The community," said he, "can set up whatever government it sees fit. That government in order to conform to reason must fulfill two conditions: the first is, that the power of making the laws, binding upon the subjects as well as upon the monarch, ought to be separated from the power which executes them; the second is that no one shall be required to pay taxes without his consent, given personally or by his representatives." "Equality," he said, in another place, "is the equal right which each man has to liberty, so that no one is subjected to the will or authority of another." This treatise appeared in 1690, just a century before the French Revolution, of which Locke is one of the precursors. What is the necessity of common consent, established as a principle of all political society, but the recognition of the sovereignty of the nation! The ideas of the English philosopher, like those of Descartes, were destined to make progress slowly throughout the eighteenth century.

Two other philosophers deserve mention for their influence in the realm of metaphysics. They are the pantheist Spinoza, a Jew of Amsterdam, and Leibnitz, the universal genius.

In the arts the first rank then belonged to the Dutch and Flemish schools, represented by Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, and the two Téniers. Spain possessed Velasquez, Murillo, and Ribera, who left no heirs. Italy brought forth Guido and Bernini, who mark the decline against which nevertheless Salvator Rosa was a protest. England and Germany had not a single artist.

Science in the Seventeenth Century.—The universe is twofold. There is a moral and a physical world. Antiquity traversed the one in every direction. It extended and developed the faculties of which God has deposited the germs in our mortal clay. But of the physical world it knew almost nothing. This ignorance was destined to last so long as the true methods of investigation were unknown. They could be found only after men had become convinced that the universe is governed by the immutable laws of eternal wisdom and not by the arbitrary volitions of capricious powers. Alchemy, magic, astrology, all those follies of the Middle Ages, became sciences on the day when man, no longer halting at isolated phenomena, strove to grasp the laws themselves which produced them. That day began in the sixteenth century with Copernicus, but it is only in the seventeenth that the revolution was accomplished and triumphant with Bacon and Galileo. The former proclaimed its necessity; the latter by his discoveries demonstrated its benefits.

At the head of the scientific movement of this century were Kepler of Wurtemberg, who proved the truth of Copernicus' system; Galileo of Pisa, who expiated in the cells of the Inquisition his demonstration of the motion of the earth; the Englishman Newton, who discovered the principal laws of optics and universal gravitation; Leibnitz, who disputes with him the honor of having created the differential calculus; Pascal, the inventor of the calculus of probabilities; Descartes, equally celebrated as a man of learning and a philosopher, for these mighty minds did not confine themselves to a single study.

In their train a throng of men entered eagerly upon the paths thus thrown open. Papin ascertains the power of steam as a motive force; Rœmer, the velocity of light; Harvey, the circulation of the blood; and Cassini and Picard fix the meridian of Paris. To the thermometer constructed by Galileo, Toricelli adds the barometer, Huygens the pendulum clock, and science finds itself armed with precious instruments for investigation.

Thus in this century three countries were in full de-

cline. They are Germany, which had Liebnitz but almost allowed Kepler to die of misery; Italy, which persecuted Galileo, and Spain, where we find only painters and playwrights. The two nations, France and England, to whom strength and preponderance had passed, were on the contrary in the full tide of their literary age.

CREATION OF RUSSIA. DOWNFALL OF SWEDEN

The Northern States at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.—The East and Northern Europe were an unknown region to the Romans and Greeks. In the Middle Ages, the activity of the nations was displayed in countries of the center and west. The Slavs and Scandinavians remained generally apart, uninfluential and obscure. The Russians had been subjugated by the Mongols. After long silence the Swedes had burst upon the empire under Gustavus Adolphus like a thunderbolt. Thanks to their victories over the Germans, Poles, and Russians, the Baltic at the middle of the eighteenth century was a Swedish lake surrounded by an extended line of fortified posts. But their domination was fragile. It was constructed in defiance of geography and was surrounded by enemies who had an interest in its ruin.

Poland still stretched from the Carpathians to the Baltic and from the Oder to the sources of the Dnieper and Volga, but its anarchical constitution and its elective royalty rendered it defenseless to the attacks of foreigners. An elector of Saxony was then king of Poland.

The Russians were cut off by the Swedes, the Poles, and the duchy of Courland from access to the southern Baltic. Likewise they were separated on the south from the Black Sea by Tartar hordes and by the warrior republic of the Cossacks, unruly subjects of Poland. They were shut in from every direction except toward the desert regions of Siberia. When the powerful republic of Novgorod fell in 1476, their road was open to the Arctic Ocean and the eastern Baltic. By the destruc-

tion of the Tartars of Astrakan, they had reached the Caspian Sea. At the treaty of Vilna (1656) they forced from the Poles the cession of Smolensk, Tchernigoff, and the Ukraine. This was their first step toward the West. They already possessed formidable elements of power. Ivan III had abolished in his family the law of appanage, thereby establishing the unity of authority and of the state. On the other hand he had retained it among the nobility, which in consequence became divided and enfeebled. In the sixteenth century Ivan IV spent fifteen years in breaking the boyars to the yoke with that implacable cruelty which won for him the surname of the Terrible, and a ukase in 1593 reduced all peasants to the servitude of the soil by forbidding them to change master and land.

Peter the Great (1682).—He, who was destined to be the creator of Russia, in 1682, when ten years old, received the title of Tsar. Guided by the Genevese Lefort, who extolled to him the arts of the West, in 1697 he went to Saardam in Holland to there learn the art of building vessels. Afterwards he studied England and her manufactures, and Germany and her military organization. At Vienna the news reached him that the Strelitzi had revolted. He hurried to Moscow, had 2000 hanged or broken on the wheel and 5000 beheaded. Then he began his reforms. He organized regiments, in which he compelled the sons of the boyars to serve as soldiers before becoming officers. He founded schools in mathematics and astronomy, and a naval academy, and undertook to unite the Don and the Volga by a canal. A great war interrupted these achievements.

The preponderance of Sweden weighed upon her neighbors. At the death of the Swedish king, Charles XI, Russia, Denmark, and Poland thought the time had come for despoiling his successor, Charles XII, a youth of eighteen, and for wresting from the Swedes their provinces on the Baltic (1700). Charles forestalled the attack by an impetuous invasion of Denmark. Then he marched rapidly against 80,000 Russians, whom he defeated with 8000 Swedes at the battle of Narva, expelled the Saxons from Livonia, pursued them into Saxony,

dethroned Augustus II and forced him by the treaty of Altranstädt to abdicate his Polish crown in favor of Stanislaus Lechzinski.

But while he was wasting five years in these successful but fruitless wars (1701-1706), in his rear Peter the Great was creating an empire and forming an army modeled upon what he had seen in the kingdoms of the West. Peter conquered Ingria and Carelia and founded Saint Petersburg (1703), so as to take possession of the Gulf of Finland. Charles XII then returned against him. While trying to effect a junction with Mazeppa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, who had promised him 100,000 men, he lost his way in the marshes of Pinsk and afforded the Tsar time to crush a Swedish relief force. The cruel winter of 1709 increased his distress. His defeat at Poltava (1709) forced him to flee with 500 horse to the Ottomans. From Bender, his place of refuge, he roused them against the Russians. One hundred and fifty thousand Ottomans crossed the Danube, and Peter, surrounded in his camp on the banks of the Pruth, would have been crushed had not the grand vizier been bribed by Catherine the Tsaritsa (1711). The Tsar restored Azoff and promised to withdraw his troops from Poland.

By this treaty Charles XII was vanquished a second time. He persisted in remaining three years longer in Turkey and then set out again for Sweden, which the northern powers were despoiling. George I of England, Elector of Hanover, was buying Bremen and Verden. The king of Prussia was seizing Stettin and Pomerania. Stralsund still held out. Charles XII threw himself into it, defended it for a month, then returned to Sweden and met his death at the siege of Frederickshall, perhaps by treason (1718).

He left Sweden exhausted by this war of fifteen years' duration. She was deprived of her foreign possessions, without agriculture, without manufactures, without commerce, and had lost 250,000 men, the flower of her people, and her ascendency in Northern Europe. This heroic adventurer had annihilated the fortune of his people and ruined his country for a century.

Peter on the contrary was creating the fortune of his empire. By the treaty of Nystadt he granted peace to the Swedes (1721), but only on condition of their renouncing all claim to Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Carelia, and the country of Viborg and Finland. When the ambassador of France implored less onerous terms, Peter replied, "I do not wish to see my neighbor's grounds from my windows."

Thus Sweden declined and Russia ascended. Thus a twofold example was furnished to the world of what one man can do for the ruin or the advancement of nations not yet capable of controlling their destiny themselves. In 1716 the Tsar undertook another journey throughout Europe. This time he came to France, where he offered to replace Sweden as the ally of France against Austria. Cardinal Dubois, who was the hireling of England, caused the rejection of his proposals.

This journey was as fruitful as the first one in developing the resources of Russia. From it she gained engineers and workmen of all sorts, with manufactories and foundries. The Tsar established uniformity in weights and measures, a commercial tribunal, canals, and shipyards. He opened mines in Siberia and highways for the products of China, Persia, and India. He foresaw the future of the Amur River, which empties into the Eastern Sea. In order to make the clergy entirely dependent upon him, he replaced the Patriarch by a synod, which he recognized as the supreme head of the Church, and he made of the Russian nation a regiment, by applying the military hierarchy to the whole administration of his empire. His son Alexis was active against these reforms. The prince was tried, condemned to death, and probably executed. At all events Alexis died on the day after his sentence and many of his accomplices perished. "The Tsar Peter," said Frederick II, "was the nitric acid which eats into iron." He died in 1725.

CREATION OF PRUSSIA. DECLINE OF FRANCE AND AUSTRIA

Regency of Orleans; Ministries of Dubois, Bourbon, and Fleury (1715-1743).—The successor of Louis XIV was only five years old. Therefore, Parliament conferred the regency upon the Duke of Orleans, a brave and intelligent prince, but weakly amiable and of dissolute character, who intrusted the power to his former preceptor, Cardinal Dubois. Through fear of Philip V of Spain, who by birth was nearer to the throne of France than was the regent, Dubois made a close alliance with England, which paid him a pension; and the spectacle was presented of the French being on their guard against the Spaniards, their friends of yesterday. Suddenly Cardinal Alberoni, the minister of Philip V, revealed his plan of restoring to Spain what the treaty of Utrecht had taken from her. He endeavored, by the help of the Ottomans, to keep Austria busy, to overthrow the regent by a conspiracy, and reëstablish the Stuarts through the sword of Charles XII. But Prince Eugene defeated the Ottomans at Belgrade (1717). The conspiracy against the regent failed. Charles XII perished in Norway. The English destroyed the Spanish fleet near Messina. The French entered Navarre. So Spain found herself crippled by the struggle and France was still under the regent and Dubois.

Louis XIV had left behind him financial ruin. The state owed 2,500,000,000 francs, of which nearly one-third was already due. Two years' revenues had been spent in advance. Though the budget was 165,000,000 francs, the deficit was 78,000,000. The regent, after having exhausted every other means to no purpose, decided to have recourse to the expedients of Law. That bold Scotch financier had founded a wonderfully successful bank and also the India Company, which, successful at first, ended in a complete failure. By clever maneuvers, the bonds of the company were raised to the fictitious value of 2,000,000,000 francs. The mirage could not

last and men's eyes were soon opened. To save the company, Law united it with the bank, thereby entailing a double ruin. The public which had formerly crowded to the Rue Quincampoix for the sake of obtaining its paper, now crowded there to obtain its coin. Everything crumbled to pieces and Law fled, pursued by curses. Nevertheless he had opened up a new horizon as to the power of credit. The regency has a melancholy fame on account of the scandalous depravity of manners which, in the upper classes, suddenly followed the ostentatious piety of the last years of Louis XIV.

The regent and Dubois died in 1723. The succeeding ministry of the Duke of Bourbon is notable only for the marriage of Louis XV to the daughter of Stanislaus Lechzinski (1725), whom Charles XII had made for a brief time king of Poland. That minister was overthrown by an ambitious septuagenarian, Fleury, bishop of Fréjus and preceptor to the king, who held the reins from 1726 to 1743. The single idea in his whole administration was to economize in the finances and maintain peace in Europe. For that end he sacrificed the reputation of France and especially the interests of her navy, submitting to the exigencies of the English. At the death of Augustus II the Poles, by an immense majority, elected Stanislaus Lechzinski king, while the Elector of Saxony was nominated under the protection of Russian bayonets (1733). The king of France could not abandon his father-in-law. Nevertheless the assistance sent him was only a mockery and comprised no more than 1500 soldiers. Stanislaus escaped with great difficulty from Dantzic and returned to France (1734). To make his disgraceful inactivity forgotten, Fleury joined Savoy and Spain against Austria, which they wished to expel from Italy. This, at least, was true French policy, and it proved successful. After the victories of Parma and Guastalla, France imposed upon the emperor the treaty of Vienna (1738). In place of the kingdom of Poland Stanislaus received the duchy of Lorraine, which after his death was to revert to the king of France. The Duke of Lorraine received Tuscany as indemnity. The Infante Don Carlos acquired Sicily with the kingdom of

Naples and the king of Sardinia gained two Milanese provinces. Some of the French ministers wished still more advantageous terms, but Fleury cared only to make peace quickly. "After the peace of Vienna," said Frederick II, "France was the arbiter of Europe." She had then just conquered Austria in Italy and was on the point of aiding the Turks to win Servia by the treaty of Belgrade (1739). Thus Austria was at that moment retreating everywhere, in Italy as well as on the Danube. The two Seven Years' Wars were to reduce her lower still, but to drag down France in her fall.

Formation of Prussia.—A new power, Prussia, was to humble the traditional rivals, Austria and France. In 1417 Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, bought from the Emperor Sigismund the margravate of Brandenburg, which possessed one of the seven electoral votes. Albert, the Ulysses of the North (1469), founded the power of his house by decreeing that future acquisitions should always remain united to the electorate and that the electorate should remain indivisible. In 1618 that house acquired ducal Prussia with Königsberg. In 1624 it gained the duchy of Cleves, with the counties of Mark and Ravensberg. Thus the state of the Hohenzollerns extended from the Meuse to the Niemen and formed on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the east bank of the Vistula, three groups separated by foreign provinces. To gain possession of those provinces has been, even to our day, the object of Hollenzollern ambition. At the treaty of Westphalia the great elector fortified himself upon the Elbe by occupying Magdeburg. Then he approached the Vistula by the occupation of Further Pomerania (1648).

Although a member of the League of the Rhine, which Mazarin had formed and placed under the protection of France, Frederick William supported Holland against Louis XIV and founded the reputation of the Prussian army by defeating the Swedes at Fehrbellin. His states had scanty population. He attracted thither Dutch colonists and many Protestants, expelled by the edict of Nantes, who peopled Berlin, his new capital. His son, Frederick III, bought from the emperor the title of king

and crowned himself at Königsberg (1701). In Brandenburg he was still only an elector, for ducal Prussia, which formed the new kingdom, was not included in the limits of the German Empire. Frederick William I (1713), the Sergeant King, created the Prussian army, raising it to 80,000 men, and spent his life as a drill-master. From Sweden he acquired nearly the whole of Pomerania, with Stettin, and had already meditated the dismemberment of Poland.

Maria Theresa and Frederick II. The War of the Austrian Succession (1741-1748).—While this Protestant power, inheriting the rôle of Sweden and Gustavus Adolphus, was waxing strong in the North, Catholic Austria was declining. Hemmed in by the Protestants of Germany, who were upheld by Sweden, by the Turks, who showed a remnant of vigor, and by the France of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV, Austria had received many severe blows, but had been saved by a great general and set on her feet again by fortunate circumstances. Eugene, vanquished at Denain, gained a victory over the Turks at Zenta (1697), Peterwardein (1716), and at Belgrade (1717). From the war of the Spanish Succession Austria obtained the Netherlands, Milan, and Naples. The latter was exchanged, later on, for Parma and Piacenza.

When the Emperor Charles VI died in 1740, the same year as the Sergeant King, the male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct. In order to secure his inheritance to his daughter Maria Theresa, Charles had taken every diplomatic but not a single military precaution. Hardly had he expired when the solemnly signed parchments were torn up and five claimants appeared. Some, like the king of Spain and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, demanded the whole of Maria Theresa's inheritance. The other two laid claim to the provinces which suited them. Then the king of Sardinia found Milan very attractive and Frederick II was greatly tempted by Silesia. Hostilities had already broken out between the English and Spaniards, on account of the contraband trade which the former carried on in the colonies of the latter. A general war was grafted upon this private

war, since Frederick II had drawn France into alliance with him and thus threw England into alliance with Maria Theresa. That Prussian prince, hitherto devoted to art and literature, suddenly revealed himself as a great king and the cleverest military leader of the century. At Molwitz, he struck the first blow of the war by a victory over the veterans of Prince Eugene, and that victory gave him Silesia, while the French invaded Bohemia.

The subsidies of England and the enthusiasm of the Hungarians furnished Maria Theresa with unexpected resources. She abandoned Silesia to Frederick, who at once violated his alliance with France, on whom now fell the whole weight of the war. The French army, besieged in Prague, made a glorious but painful retreat in the dead of winter. After Bohemia had been thus retaken, the Austrians invaded Bavaria. The frontiers of France were exposed to attack. Louis XV, or rather Marshal Saxe, had entered the Netherlands with 120,000 men and captured many towns. Those successes ceased when it became necessary to send a large detachment to cover the frontiers. Frederick had again taken up arms against Austria and invaded Bohemia. The French line on the Rhine was thus relieved, the Emperor Charles VII returned to Munich, and his son made a treaty with Maria Theresa (1745).

While Frederick was again defeating Austria and imposing upon her the treaty of Dresden, which put Brussels in his power, Charles Edward, the Stuart pretender, landed in Scotland to stir up the Highlanders against the house of Hanover, which had been seated upon the English throne since the death of Queen Anne (1714). The victories of Marshal Saxe and the alliance of Russia with France made the opposite party ready for peace. Victorious on the continent, France had suffered terribly on the sea, where her navy had been almost destroyed, and she had lost her opportunity of founding in Hindustan that Indian empire which Dupleix had begun. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) England and France mutually restored their conquests, but Silesia was definitely assigned to the king of Prussia.

The Seven Years' War (1756-1763).—France employed the peace to reconstruct her marine and extend her commerce. England was annoyed at this prosperity and, without any declaration of war, began to capture the French vessels which were sailing under the protection of treaties (1755). It was the interest of France to maintain the exclusively maritime character of this fresh struggle, but the English sought with gold some continental ally, and Frederick II, rendered uneasy by the unlooked-for good understanding between France and Austria, accepted their subsidies. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he had gained the good-will of Silesia by wise measures. He began the reformation of the courts and the finances and incorporated East Friesland into his kingdom. But his wit injured his policy. His epigrams wounded the Empress Elizabeth and Madame Pompadour, the favorite of Louis XIV. Maria Theresa, who could not see a Silesian without weeping, cleverly inflamed the wrath of the offended ladies and roused against Prussia the very coalition which had threatened her during the preceding war.

Frederick anticipated his enemies by invading Saxony, whose troops he incorporated into his army. Then he made his way into Bohemia and defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. France threw two armies into Germany, one of which forced the Anglo-Hanoverians to capitulate, while the other suffered the shameful defeat of Rosbach (1757). For many years the king of Prussia, alone save as assisted by subsidies from England, waged a heroic war against combined Austria, Russia, France, and Sweden. The conflict was marked by the battles of Prague, Kollin, Joegerndorf, Zorndorf, Kunnersdorf, Liegnitz, Minden, and Crevelt. In 1761 he seemed at the end of his resources and strength. He was saved by the death of the Tsaritsa, whose successor, Peter III, was an admirer of the Prussian hero and made haste to recall the Russian troops. A final campaign restored to him Silesia, and disposed Austria for peace. France had not been invaded, but she lost Pondicherry, Quebec, and all her navy. She accepted the treaty of Paris (1763).

The second Seven Years' War resulted, on the one hand in the continental grandeur of Prussia and the maritime supremacy of England, and on the other, in the humiliation of Austria and the decline of France. This war cost the lives of 1,000,000 human beings. In Prussia alone 14,500 houses were burned.

After having saved his country and gloriously constituted a new nation in Europe, Frederick saved it from misery by a wise and vigilant administration. He drained marshes, constructed dikes and canals, encouraged manufactures, created a new system of landed credit, reorganized public instruction, and reformed the administration of justice.

In 1772 he accomplished the dismemberment of Poland, as we shall see more fully later on. In 1777 he inflicted upon Austria a fresh political defeat by forcing her to renounce her claims to Bavaria, which she had bought after the death of the last elector. Thus Frederick made himself the protector of the German Empire against half Slavic Austria.

MARITIME AND COLONIAL POWER OF ENGLAND

England from 1688 to 1763.—The English revolution of 1688 had as its result: at home the revival of both political and religious liberty and, abroad, the substitution of strong and resourceful England for exhausted Holland as the adversary of France. The wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession had ruined the French navy. The fleets of Holland were at the orders of William III, and thus England took possession of the ocean, which her merchants covered with their ships. William, who died in 1702, was succeeded by Queen Anne, the second daughter of James II. A zealous Protestant, she brought about the union of Scotland and England, under the official title of the Kingdom of Great Britain (1707). Until 1710 the Whigs were in power. They represented the revolution of 1688 and

consequently were strongly opposed to Louis XIV. So Anne pursued the policy of her brother-in-law in continuing war against France, in which Marlborough won the great victories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet. The advent of a Tory minister in 1710 brought about the peace of Utrecht (1713). On the death of the queen, Parliament bestowed the crown upon George of Brunswick, Elector of Hanover (1714).

That prince knew neither a word of English nor a single article of the Constitution. He allowed Sir Robert Walpole to be the real ruler. Walpole was the leader of the Whigs, who had regained a majority in Parliament and who retained it until 1742, thanks to the system of bribery openly employed by the prime minister. The unscrupulous minister was overthrown by the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession. England in that war acquired not an inch of territory but great havoc was caused by the invasion of the Pretender, Charles Stuart (1745), and the national debt was almost doubled. Already the Great Commoner, William Pitt, was attracting the attention of England. In 1757 he became prime minister. France realized too well his talents and his hatred during the Seven Years' War, which he directed with an energy that was fatal to both the French marine and the French colonies.

George I died in 1727 and George II in 1760. Both were faithful to the compact of 1688. Having neither a soldier nor a party, they accepted the ministers which the parliamentary majority imposed, so that to change her policy Great Britain had only to change her ministers. Thus the Whigs or Liberals and the Tories or Conservatives came into power through a vote of Parliament and not through an insurrection in the street. For this reason, during the last two centuries, England has been able to effect many reforms without either the pretext or the necessity of a revolution. George III, who reigned sixty years, several times even lost his reason, but governmental action was not affected thereby. In London the king reigns, but does not govern. He accepts the councilors whom the Chambers assign him and signs the decrees which his ministers present. He

is the wheel which is required to set the machine in motion, but he does not command its movements, so that by his permanence he represents conservatism, while the ministry, by its mobility, insures progress.

The English East India Company.—The Seven Years' War ruined French affairs in India and delivered America over to England. Leaving their colonies to spread freely over the rich valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, the English flung themselves upon India, where Dupleix had just revealed how an empire could be created. As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an East India Company had been organized, which obtained from the Grand Mogul the right to traffic in Bengal and which founded Calcutta. The French privateers, during the war of the League of Augsburg, cost the commerce of Great Britain 675,000,000 francs and ruined the company whose aggrandizement the emperor of India, Aurangzeb, also was arresting. The death of that prince (1707) delivered India over to anarchy. The English counted upon profiting thereby, when they found a dangerous rival in a company founded by Colbert and reconstructed in 1723. Dupleix, the director-general of the French trading posts in India, transformed his commercial company into a powerful state, with fortresses, arsenals, and arms, and a vast territory extending from Cape Comorin to the Krishna River. For many years he governed 30,000,000 Hindus with absolute power. But Louis XV abandoned him. Recalled to France in 1754, he died in misery. The English took his place, copying the organization which he had bestowed upon his conquest, and France retained only Pondicherry.

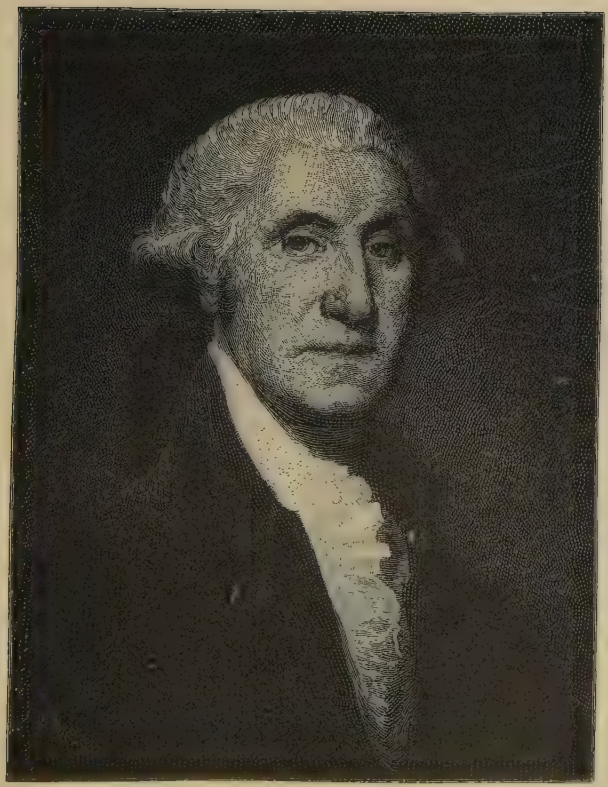
The empire of the Grand Mogul in the valley of the Ganges was in a state of dissolution. The subahs or viceroys and the nabobs or governors of districts rendered themselves independent after the death of Aurangzeb, so that in Bengal, the company, or "The Great Lady of London" as the Hindus called it, could easily expand. In the Deccan it found brave and active adversaries. The Mussulman Haidar Ali, sovereign of Mysore, and his son, Tippoo Sahib, from 1761 to 1799

maintained a constant resistance. The latter perished defending his capital. From 1799 to 1818 the English fought against the valiant population of the Mahrattas, who half a century earlier had come near subjugating the whole of India. The Punjab, the country of the Five Rivers, ceased to be independent in 1846.

FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Origin and Character of the English Colonies in America.—At first the English did not reckon upon India, but India is to them now a mine of wealth. They did reckon upon America and America is to-day free and their rival.

Founded by companies or by private individuals who fled from the persecutions inflicted in the mother country upon dissenters, the English colonies in America, unlike the French, were not kept in leading-strings by the home government and developed rapidly under the protection of religious, civil, and commercial liberty. There was no party, worsted in the revolutions of England, which did not find in America an asylum to receive it. New England was the refuge of the Roundheads and Republicans, Virginia of the Cavaliers, and Maryland of the Catholics. With their creeds the emigrants brought the political ideas of old England and held to the administration of public affairs by representatives of the persons interested. In all these colonies a legislative assembly directed the affairs of common weal. But the French in Canada were not even allowed to appoint a syndic or mayor of Quebec, "since it is not good," Colbert wrote to them, "that any one should speak for all." Printing which was not introduced into Canada until 1764, or five years after it was lost by the French, existed in Massachusetts as early as 1636, "in order," as it was stated, "that the knowledge of our fathers may not be buried with them in their tombs." In this national difference of colonial organization is to be found



WASHINGTON WHILE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

From the Painting by Gilbert Stuart

the explanation of the ruin of the one and of the prosperity of the other.

The Revolution (1775-1783).—After the Seven Years' War the English Ministry, wishing to make the colonies bear a part of the expenses of the home government, tried first to subject them to a stamp-tax and then to a tax upon glass, paper, and tea (1767). The colonists, who had no representative in the House of Commons, invoked that principle of the English Constitution which provides that no citizens are bound to submit to any taxes not voted by their representatives. Ninety-six towns pledged themselves not to buy any English merchandise so long as their complaints were unheeded. At Boston in 1773 three cargoes of tea were thrown into the water. A few months later war broke out. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia proclaimed the independence of the thirteen colonies. They united in a confederation wherein each state preserved its political and religious liberty.

Washington. The Part of France in the War.—Washington, a wealthy planter of Virginia, was appointed general. Calm, methodical, persevering, audacious, but never rash, never permitting himself to be crushed by a reverse nor elated by a success, he was the ideal leader for such a conflict. His inexperienced soldiers had to combat veteran troops. The German princes sold to the English 17,000 men to take part in the war. Washington lost New York and Philadelphia. But by keeping Howe busy, he enabled the insurgents in the north to stop Burgoyne, who came down from Canada with an army, and to force his surrender at Saratoga (October, 1777). France recognized the independence of the colonies. She sent them, first a fleet, and then an army, whose chiefs, Rochambeau and La Fayette, aided Washington to compel the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Spain joined her forces to those of France. The secondary navies formed the League of the Neutrals for the protection of such vessels as were not carrying contraband of war. England bowed under the burden, signed the peace of Versailles, which restored several trading posts

to France, and acknowledged the independence of the United States (1783).

Thus England lost America, with the exception of Canada, which she had wrested from France and which she still holds. She found a partial compensation for this loss in the development of her commerce with the new state. Half a century however had not elapsed before the Star-Spangled Banner was competing with the British flag in all the markets of the world. Moreover the new republic had inspired in the ancient mother country a sentiment of respect which was akin to fear, because, invulnerable on her continent, she could deal a thousand blows before receiving one.

Washington won even more honor in peace than in war. He might have retained power or have prompted a military revolution for his own benefit. But he was the most faithful servant of the law. He disbanded his troops even against their will and became again a plain private individual on the banks of the Potomac. There it was that they, whom he had saved on the field of battle, sought him in 1789, that he might save them again by his political sagacity. Twice in succession they elected him President of the United States. After that double presidency he persisted in retiring to his estate of Mount Vernon. Carried to the tomb in 1799 he left behind the purest name of modern times.

DESTRUCTION OF POLAND. DECLINE OF THE OTTOMANS. GREATNESS OF RUSSIA

Catherine II (1761) **and Frederick II. First Partition of Poland** (1773).—While a new nation was being born on the other side of the Atlantic, an ancient people was dying in old Europe under the pressure of two states which had assumed a place among the great powers only a few years before. The real successor of Peter the Great was the wife of his grandson, Peter III, the Princess of Anhalt, who had her husband strangled and reigned under the name of Catherine II. Poland, with

her elective and powerless royalty, with her anarchical nobility, and her religious passions, was a sort of anomaly among the absolute monarchies of the eighteenth century. In politics anomalies cannot last. Poland was doomed either to reform herself or to perish. Her people and her neighbors alike prevented reforms. Hence she fell.

Catherine II caused her favorite Poniatowski to be elected king and signed with Frederick II, who had already proposed the dismemberment of the country, a secret treaty for the maintenance of the Polish constitution. Doubtless Catherine hoped to avoid the partition and to reserve the entire kingdom for herself alone. When she saw that the Polish Diet was determined to persecute dissenters, she took the latter under her protection and had two bishops arrested whom she sent to Siberia. Forthwith the Poles formed the Confederation of Bar, which adopted a banner with the Virgin and the Child Jesus as its standard. The Latin cross marched against the Greek cross. The peasants murdered their lords. From civil war Poland weltered in blood. The Prussians entered on the west, the Austrians on the south, and the Russians were everywhere.

France roused the Turks against Russia, but they lost their provinces and their fleet, which was burned at Tchesmeh. Frederick II, uneasy at these victories of the Tsaritsa, recalled her to the affairs of Poland and reminded her of the idea of partition, threatening that she would have to fight Prussia and Austria in case of refusal. Catherine yielded. On April 19, 1773, the partition was accomplished, Maria Theresa took Galicia or the northern slope of the Carpathians; Frederick seized the provinces which he needed to unite Prussia to his German states, and Catherine occupied many Palatinates of the east.

Treaties of Kainardji (1774) and Jassy (1792).—Having satisfied in Poland her own greed and that of Prussia, Catherine resumed her projects against Turkey, on which she imposed the treaty of Kaïnardji (1774). Thereby the Russians acquired many towns, the right to navigate the Black Sea, and a protectorate over Mol-

davia and Wallachia. The Tartars of the Crimea and the Kouban became independent of the Sultan, preliminary to their speedy subjection to the Tsar. The amnesty accorded the Greek subjects of Turkey revealed that they had a zealous protector in the Muscovite prince at St. Petersburg, recognized as the champion of the Orthodox Church. In the following year, Catherine II put an end to the republic of the Zaperogian Cossacks, whose territories lay between the Russian power and the Black Sea. In 1777 she bought his sovereignty from the khan of the Crimea, and built Sebastopol. She even caused the king of Georgia on the southern slope of the Caucasus to accept her protection; and finally came to an understanding with the Emperor Joseph II for the partition of the Turkish Empire.

The Divan declared war (1787) and prosecuted it bravely for four years. But the Ottomans would have succumbed, had not the Tsaritsa, menaced by the evident hostility of Prussia, which had assembled 80,000 men on its eastern frontier, and by the unfriendly tone of England and Holland, consented to the treaty of Jassy. Thereby the Dniester was fixed as the boundary of the two empires (1792). Turkey, formerly so dangerous to Europe, had just been saved for the first time by three Christian states, which were unwilling to have the European balance of power disturbed for the benefit of a single people.

Second and Third Partitions of Poland (1793-1795).— The Poles paid for the Turks. Warned by the first dismemberment, they had tried to reform their constitution, abolish the liberum veto, render the monarchy hereditary, and share the legislative power between the king, the senate, and the nuncios or deputies. But Prussia and Austria, who were then engaged in stifling the revolution in France, had no intention of allowing another revolution to be kindled in their rear. A second and third partition, effected at an interval of two years, blotted out the country of Sobieski. If in later treaties the German people were divided up like cattle and their countries like farms to suit the convenience of a conqueror, their fate was only the repetition of the example

furnished by the authors of the great Polish spoliation. Austria in 1806 and in 1809, and Prussia at Tilsit, endured only what the Poles had suffered at their hands.

Attempt at dismembering Sweden.—Prussia and Russia had acquired an appetite by their success and began to prepare the same fate for Sweden. By a recent treaty they pledged themselves to maintain in that country the factions which had existed there since the death of Charles XII, and which were kept alive by foreign money. The coup d'état of Gustavus III in 1772 and the constitutional act of 1789 forestalled the danger. The nobles indeed at last assassinated their prince, who was friendly to reform and hostile to Russia (1792), but Catherine II, then busy in the East, and Prussia, busy in the West, left the Swedish kingdom in peace.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Scientific and Geographical Discoveries.—The eighteenth century was for the sciences what the seventeenth had been for letters, and the sixteenth for arts and creeds. It was a period of renovation. Physics was regenerated by the brilliant electrical experiments of Franklin, Volta, and Galvani, who invented the lightning-rod and the voltaic battery. So was mathematical analysis by Lagrange and Laplace; botany by Linnæus and Jussieu; zoölogy by Buffon, who also introduced geology, while Lavoisier gave to the science of chemistry firm foundations. Mankind, when master of the laws of nature, wished at once to make them of advantage. In 1775 vaccination was discovered. In 1783 a steamboat ascended the Saône and the first balloon was launched into the air.

At the same time the skillful navigators, Cook, Bougainville, and La Pérouse, completed the work of the great sailors of the fifteenth century, not through hope of gain or from religious sentiment as three hundred years earlier, but in the interest of science.

Letters in the Eighteenth Century.—While the physicists were discovering new forces and the navigators new lands, the writers for their part were revealing a new world. Literature was not, as in the preceding century, controlled by art. It had invaded everything and claimed the right to regulate everything. The most virile forces of the mind seemed directed to the advancement of public welfare. Men no longer labored to make fine verses but to utter fine maxims. They no longer depicted the whims of society for the sake of a laugh, but for the purpose of reforming society itself. Literature became a weapon which all, the imprudent as well as the skillful, tried to wield. And by a strange inconsistency, those who had the most to suffer from this inroad of literary men into the field of politics were the ones who applauded it the most. This society of the eighteenth century, frivolous and sensual as it was, nevertheless cherished an admiration for mental power. Talent almost took the place of birth.

Three men headed the movement. They were: Voltaire, whose whims and passions and vices cannot be forgotten, but who fought all his life long for liberty of thought; Montesquieu, who studied the reason of laws and the nature of governments, who taught men to examine and compare existing constitutions in order to seek therein the best, which he found in liberty-loving England; and lastly, Rousseau with his *Social Contract,* wherein he proclaimed the doctrine of national sovereignty and universal suffrage. At their side the encyclopedists reviewed human knowledge and set it forth in a manner often menacing to social order and always hostile to religion. Finally Quesnay created the new science of political economy. Thus human thought, hitherto confined to metaphysical and religious speculations, or absorbed in unselfish worship of the Muses, now claimed the right to attack the most difficult problems of society. And all, philosophers as well as economists, sought the solution on the side of liberty. From the school of Quesnay had sprung the axiom, "Let well enough alone," just as in politics D'Argesson had said, "Do not govern too much."

Disagreement between Ideas and Institutions.—Thus the mental agitation, formerly excited by the discussion of dogmas, now was produced by wholly terrestrial interests. Men no longer sought to determine divine attributes, or the limits of grace and free will, but they studied man and society, rights and obligations. The Middle Ages and feudalism, when they expired under the hand of kings, had left the ground covered with their fragments, so the most shocking inequalities and the strangest confusion were to be met on every side. The protests against this state of affairs were vigorous, numerous, and pressing.

Men desired that government should no longer be a frightful labyrinth wherein even the most clever must lose his way. They insisted that the public finances should cease to be pillaged by the king, his ministers, and the court; that personal liberty should be secured against arbitrary orders of arrest or lettres de cachet, and that property should be protected from confiscation. They demanded that the criminal code, still aided by torture, should become less sanguinary and the civil code more equitable.

They demanded religious toleration instead of dogma imposed under penalty of death; law, founded on principles of natural and rational right, instead of the privilege of a few and the arbitrary government of all; unity of weights and measures, instead of extreme confusion; taxes paid by everyone, instead of the taxation of poverty and the exemption of wealth; the emancipation of labor and free competition, instead of monopoly of corporations; and free admission to the public offices, instead of favoritism shown to birth and fortune.

To accomplish this a revolution was necessary and it could be foreseen by everyone. As early as 1719, Fénelon exclaimed, "The dilapidated machine still continues to work because of the former impetus imparted to it, but it will go to pieces at the first shock."

Reforms effected by Governments.—These words did not apply to France alone. They included the whole of absolutist Europe. If the people did not everywhere understand the need of reforms, the princes felt the

necessity of understanding them. Bold or clever ministers like Pombal of Lisbon, Aranda at Madrid, and Tanucci at Naples, encouraged industry, agriculture, and science, opened roads, canals, and schools, suppressed privileges and abuses, and banished the Jesuits, who seemed to embody all the evil influences of the past. The Grand Duke of Tuscany created provinces by transforming pestilential marshes into fertile lands. The king of Sardinia allowed his subjects to emancipate themselves from feudal taxes. Joseph II in Austria abolished tithes, seigniorial rights, forced labor, and convents, and subordinated the Church to the state. In Sweden Gustavus III diminished the church festivals, forbade torture, and doubled the product of the iron and copper mines. We have already noted the reforms of Frederick II in Prussia.

Catherine the Great cultivated the acquaintance of Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, so as to influence public opinion through them. She had a magnificent constitution drawn up, which, however, she did not put into execution. She built schools which remained empty. When the governor of Moscow was in despair at the lack of scholars, she wrote him: "My dear prince, do not complain that the Russians have no desire to learn. If I set up schools, it is not for our own sake, but because of Europe which is watching us. As soon as our peasants wish to become enlightened, neither you nor I shall remain in our places." Cardinal Pole had expressed the same idea at the beginning of the Reformation: "It is dangerous to make men too learned."

Thus a new spirit of reform was breathing over Europe. It was social and no longer a religious reform. It was preached by philosophers or economists and not by monks or theologians. The princes now too placed themselves at the head of the movement, hoping to derive profit therefrom, as they had done from the secularizations of church property during the Lutheran and the Anglican Reformations. They sought to promote the welfare of their peoples. They freed them at the expense of the feudal and ecclesiastical aristocracy, from vexatious or onerous burdens, but they specially

labored all the time to augment their own revenues and strength. These princes all said, as did the emperor of Austria: "My trade is to be a royalist." So they preserved the discretionary power which feudal anarchy had permitted them to grasp, but which the enlarging interests of the people doomed them to retain no longer.

Thus, at bottom, nothing was changed. Despite this paternal solicitude and from default of regular institutions, everything still depended on individuals, so that public prosperity fluctuated with those who remained its supreme dispensers. Hence Spain under Charles IV and Godoy again fell as low as under Charles II. The days of the Lazzaroni flourished once more at Naples under Queen Caroline and her minister, Acton. Joseph II disturbed Austria without regenerating it, and Catherine II played the reforms for her people. In Prussia alone a great man did great things. In France when skillful ministers, who wished to do them likewise, were expelled from power, the nation undertook to accomplish the reforms itself.

Last Years of Louis XV (1763-1774).—At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France was still the leading military power of Europe. This rank was taken from her by the disgraces of the Seven Years' War. Afterwards the army had no chance of reviving its ancient renown, for French intervention in the affairs of Eastern Europe was mostly limited to diplomatic notes and a few volunteers. The acquisition of Corsica (1769) under Louis XV was the result of a bargain with Genoa, which sold the island for 40,000,000 francs. The acquisition of Lorraine was only the execution of a treaty, for which the occupation of the duchy for almost a century by French troops had long since paved the way. Hence there was little glory in those territorial gains. But the war in America, a few years later, shed some brilliancy upon the navy. While Prussia, Austria, and Russia were murdering one nation, France had the honor of aiding in the birth of another. The American Revolution was popular, so France resumed before the end of the century something of the proud bearing which Rosbach had taken from her.

At home Louis XV disgraced the monarchy by his vices and hastened its ruin by his political conduct. The expulsion of the Jesuits offended one party and the suppression of the parliaments was a blow at another. Frequent and arbitrary arrests exasperated the public mind. Louis realized that a terrible expiation was approaching, but he thought he himself would escape it. "Things will last quite as long as I shall. My successor must get out of the scrape as best he can."

Louis XVI until the Revolution.—This sovereign was the most honest and the weakest of men. He abolished forced labor and torture. He summoned to the ministry Turgot, who could have forestalled the Revolution by reforms or at least could have controlled and guided it. But when the courtiers complained, he dismissed him. Necker, the Genevese banker, did not succeed in covering the frightful deficit which the expenses of the American war increased. The state existed only by loans. Calonne, in the space of three years and in time of peace, increased the debt 500,000,000 francs. An Assembly of Notables, convoked in 1787, could point out no remedy. On all sides men clamored for the States General. The government, at the end of its resources, promised to convoke them. Necker, recalled to the ministry, rendered the decision that the number of deputies from the Third Estate should equal that of the other two orders. This was the same thing as deciding that by the Third Estate alone the great reforms were to be effected.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(1789-1792)

Divine Right and National Sovereignty.—In the Middle Ages, for the purpose of combating feudalism, the jurists had again asserted the proposition of the Roman jurisconsults concerning the absolute power of the prince. The Church with her religious authority had sanctioned this doctrine, borrowed from Oriental monarchies, which made the kings through the religious rite of coronation

the direct representatives of God on earth. On the other hand, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had ruled the Greek, German, Celtic, and Roman world, and which even Augustus had made the basis of his power, had never been completely forgotten and proscribed. This doctrine had been many times reasserted. Thus did in France the States General of 1484, in Spain, the Aragonese, who imposed upon their kings so harsh an oath. In England it was announced before the Tudors and repeated under Henry VI by Chancellor Fortescue, who declared that governments had been constituted by the peoples and existed only for their benefit. Again was it maintained under William III by Locke, who proclaimed the necessity of the common consent. In the eighteenth century it was set forth by the majority of writers. Thus the most ancient system in the West was that of national sovereignty. The principle of divine right, represented by Louis XIV and James I, had come later into the field. Reason and history were against it. It was accepted only as an accidental political form which had had certain temporary advantages and on that account, a temporary validity.

In the France of 1789, the absolute monarchy by right divine found that its faults had reduced it to such a condition that it was impossible for it to govern. After royalty ceased to live upon the revenues of its own possessions, it had set up as an axiom of public law that, for the common weal of the state, the Third Estate would contribute its goods, the nobility its blood, and the clergy its prayers. Now the court clergy prayed but little, the nobility no longer formed all the army; but the Third Estate still remained faithful to its functions. It still continued to pay the taxes and it paid more every year. As the monarchy increased in prodigality, the more dependent did it become upon the Third Estate, and the more inevitable did it render the moment when, tired of paying, the Third Estate would demand a reckoning. That awful day of account is known as the Revolution of 1789.

The court wanted the States General to occupy themselves solely with financial affairs and then, as soon as

the deficit was covered and the debts paid, the deputies to go home. But France was suffering from two maladies, one financial and one political, from the deficit and from abuses. To heal the former, economy was necessary together with a new system of taxation. To heal the latter, entire reorganization of the power was needed. Royalty had undergone many transformations since the times of the Roman emperors. It had been barbarian with Clovis, feudal with Philip Augustus, and by right divine with Louis XIV. In its latest form it had furnished unity of territory and unity of authority, but it must now submit to another change. France, with her immense development of industry, commerce, science, public spirit, and personal property, now had interests too complex and needs too numerous to trust itself to the omnipotence of a single man. She required a guarantee against the unlucky hazards of a royal birth or the frivolity of incapable ministers.

The National Assembly until the Capture of the Bastile. —On May 5, 1789, the deputies assembled at Versailles. The clergy and nobility were represented by 561 persons, while the Third Estate, or ninety-six per cent of the population, had 584 or a majority of twenty-three votes. This majority was an illusion unless they voted as individuals and not as orders. The whole spirit of '89, briefly expressed, consisted in establishing equality before the law and guaranteeing it by liberty. Now this spirit had penetrated even the privileged classes. Many of their members came and joined the deputies of the Third Estate who, assembled in the common hall, had proclaimed themselves the National Constituent or Constitutional Assembly.

On June 27 the fusion of the three orders was accomplished. This the court tried to prevent, first by closing the place of assembly and then by having the king make a threatening speech. The sole effect of their opposition was to determine the deputies to declare themselves inviolable. The court hoped for better results from military action, and an army of 30,000 men, in which foreign regiments had been carefully incorporated, was stationed around Paris and Versailles. The threat was

perfectly plain, but the courage to strike a great blow was lacking. To this imprudent provocation another challenge was added in the exile of Necker, the popular minister (July 11). To this challenge the Assembly replied by renewing the oath, taken at the famous tennis court, that the representatives would not separate until they had given France a constitution. But Paris took alarm and flew to arms. Some of the populace marched against the troops, encamped in the Champs Élysées, who fell back upon Versailles. Others rushed to the Bastile, captured it, and massacred its commandant. The provost of the merchants, the minister Foulon, and the intendant Berthier were also slain. The mob began to get a taste of blood (July 14, 1789).

The insensate conduct of the court, which called the Assembly together and then wished to get rid of it, which threatened but dared not act, which provoked yet knew neither how to intimidate nor to coerce, which cherished childish hatreds and had no resolution, in only two months had caused the reformation to deviate from its pacific methods. That fourteenth of July is explained by circumstances and by the state of men's minds. It was, nevertheless, the first of those revolutionary days, which were destined to demoralize the people by habituating them to regard the power and the law as a target against which they could always fire.

The Days of October. The Emigration. The Constitution of 1791.—"It is a riot," exclaimed Louis XVI when he heard the news of the Bastile. "No, Sire," replied the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, "it is a revolution." In fact on August 4 the Assembly abolished all feudal rights and the sale of offices. In September it voted the Declaration of Rights, established a single legislative chamber, and rejected the absolute veto power of the king. Then the court returned to the idea of employing force. It was proposed to the king that he should withdraw to Metz and place himself in Bouillé's army. That measure would have been the beginning of civil war. He remained at Versailles and summoned thither troops numerous enough to produce uneasiness, but too few to inspire any real fear.

Famine was ravaging France and in Paris men were dying of hunger. On October 5 an army of women set out for Versailles, imagining that abundance would reign if the king were brought back to Paris, his capital. National guards, recently organized by La Fayette, accompanied them and provoked quarrels in the courtyards of the palace with the bodyguard. Many of the latter were killed, the queen was insulted, and the royal dwelling was broken in upon. As a final confession of weakness, the king and the Assembly followed this crowd to Paris, where both were about to fall into the hands of the mob. The success of the expedition to Versailles showed the ringleaders of the faubourgs that thenceforth they could rule everything, Assembly or government, by intimidation.

Sanguinary scenes took place in the country districts also. The peasants were not satisfied by destroying feudal coats-of-arms and breaking down drawbridges and towers. They sometimes also killed the nobles. Terror reigned in the castles, as it reigned at court. Already the king's most prudent counselors, his brother, the Count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, the Polignacs, and others of their class had fled, leaving him alone in the midst of a populace whose wrath they were about to inflame by every means and whose fiercest passions they were going to unloose by turning the arms of foreign nations against their country.

Nevertheless the Assembly nobly went on with its work. In the name of liberty it removed all unjust discriminations from the dissenting sects, the press, and industry. In the name of justice it suppressed the right of primogeniture. In the name of equality it abolished nobility and titles, declared all Frenchmen of whatever religion eligible for public office, and replaced the ancient provincial boundaries by a division into ninety-three departments. Money poured out of the kingdom with the emigrants, or was above all concealed through the fear of a rising. The Assembly ordered that 400,000,000 francs in assignats or paper money should be issued, secured by the property of the clergy, which it ordered

to be sold. At the same time the law ceased to recognize monastic vows. The cloisters were declared to be open and the parliaments were replaced by elective tribunals. The sovereignty of the nation having been proclaimed, men drew the natural inference that all power ought to emanate from the people. Thus the elective system was introduced everywhere. A deliberative council in the departments, districts, and communes was placed by the side of the elective council, as beside the king was placed the legislative body. And some people were already of the opinion that in such a system a hereditary king was an absurdity.

But the court did not accept the Constitution. Vanquished at Paris on July 14 and at Versailles on October 6, the nobles fled to Coblentz and there openly conspired against France. The nobles, who remained with the king, plotted in secret. Louis, who had never a will of his own, let them do what they liked. In public he accepted the decrees of the Assembly. In secret he protested against the violence done to his rights. Such a double game has always been productive of evil. Nevertheless, there was a moment when universal confidence reigned. This was at the Festival of the Federation, offered by the Parisians on the Champs de Mars to the deputies of the army and of the ninety-three departments. From November, 1789, to July, 1790, in the villages and in the cities, the inhabitants in arms fraternized with the men of the neighboring village or city, all uniting in the joy of their new-found country. These local federations made common cause and finally formed the great French federation which sent, on July 14, 1790, 100,000 representatives to Paris. The king in their presence solemnly swore fidelity to the Constitution.

But nothing came of this festival. Secret hostilities were immediately resumed between the court and the Assembly. The immediate cause of the trouble was the civil constitution of the clergy, which, by applying to the Church the reform introduced into the state, subjected even curates and bishops to election and disturbed the whole existing ecclesiastical hierarchy. This was an abuse of power on the part of the Assembly, for secular

society was not competent to regulate the internal organization of religious society. The Pope condemned this intervention of the state in the discipline of the Church and prohibited obedience to the new law. The king interposed his veto, which he removed only after a riot. But the great majority of the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance to the civil constitution. Then schism entered into the Church of France. In its train were to come persecutions and a frightful war.

The king, to whose conscience this decree did violence just as violence had been done to his affections by the measures which the Assembly forced him to take against the emigrants, no longer felt himself free. He thought that he would find that liberty, denied him in the Tuileries, by taking refuge in the camp of Bouillé, whence he could summon Austria and Prussia to his aid. Arrested in his flight at Varennes (June 21, 1791), he was suspended from his functions by the Assembly. The people on July 17, in the Champs de Mars, demanded his abdication. Bailly ordered the red flag to be unfurled and the mob to be fired upon. On September 14, the king, who up to that time had been detained like a prisoner at the Tuileries, accepted the Constitution of 1791, which created a single assembly, charged with making the laws, and left to the monarch, together with the executive power, the right of suspending for four years the expressions of the national will by the use of his veto. The electoral body was divided into primary assemblies, which appointed the electors, and electoral assemblies which appointed the deputies. The former comprised the active citizens, that is to say, men twenty-five years of age, who were inscribed on the rolls of the national guard and paid a direct tax equal to three days' labor. The latter were formed by the proprietors or tenants of an estate, which brought in at least between 150 and 200 francs. All active citizens were eligible.

The National Assembly ended worthily with expressions of liberty and concord. It proclaimed universal amnesty, suppressed all obstacles to circulation, and repealed all exceptional laws, hoping thereby to recall the emigrants to their country. Among its members the

most distinguished were Mounier, Malouet, Barnave, the Lameths, Cazalès, Maury, Duport, Sieyès, and especially Mirabeau. The last named, had he lived, might perhaps have reconciled royalty with the Revolution. It is from Mirabeau that we have the beautiful formula of the new era, "Right is the sovereign of the world."

The National Assembly prohibited the reëlection of its members to the new assembly. This was an unwise self-abnegation, for the Revolution needed that its veterans should hold its standard high and firm above the superstitious worshipers of the past and the fierce dreamers of the future. Thus the way might be paved for the peaceful triumph of that new state of mind and institutions which has so often been disturbed and compromised by the regrets of the former and the rashness of the latter. In spite of every mistake the National Assembly was the mother of French liberties. Its ideas have reappeared in all the French constitutions and are now fundamental in the French political state.

INEFFECTUAL COALITION OF THE KINGS AGAINST THE REVOLUTION

(1792-1802)

The Legislative Assembly (1791-1792).—This Assembly, so tame in comparison with its two great and terrible sisters, the National Assembly and the Convention, began its sessions on October 1, 1791, and ended them on September 21, 1792. Its leaders, the Girondists, Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Isnard, and Valazé, labored to overthrow the monarchy, although leaving the extremists to initiate the Republic. In consequence the Republic was founded in blood which the Girondists might have founded in moderation.

Effect Outside France produced by the Revolution. The First Coalition (1791).—To the internal difficulties which the National Assembly had encountered, the embarrassment of foreign complications was added under the Legislative Assembly. The Revolution had awakened

in foreign lands numerous echoes of its principles and hopes. In Belgium, in Italy, in Holland, all along the Rhine and in the heart of Germany, in England, and even in distant Russia, it seemed a promise of deliverance. The French ambassador to the court of the Tsar wrote in his memoirs: "Although the Bastile certainly was not a menace to anyone here, I cannot describe the enthusiasm which the fall of that state prison and the first tempestuous triumph of liberty excited among the merchants, the tradesmen, the burghers, and some young men of higher rank. Frenchmen, Russians, Germans, Englishmen, Danes, Dutchmen, everybody in the streets, congratulated and embraced each other as though they had been delivered from a ponderous chain which pressed upon them."

The Swiss historian, von Müller, beheld in this victory the will of Providence. The philosophers and poets, Kant and Fichte, Schiller and Goethe, thought the same. The latter said, on the evening of Valmy: "In this place and on this day a new era for the world begins." Five years later he again recalled, in *Hermann and Dorothea,* "those days of sweet hope, when one felt his heart beat more freely in his breast, in the early rays of the new sun." Thus at first the nations sympathized with France, because they understood that for them also Mirabeau and his colleagues had drawn up at Versailles the new charter of civilized society.

But the princes were all the more incensed against this Revolution which threatened not to confine itself, like the English revolution of 1688, to the country where it had broken out.

As early as January, 1791, the emperor of Germany haughtily demanded that the German princes who held possessions in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté should be secured in their feudal rights. The emigrants found every facility for collecting troops at Coblentz and Worms. The Count d'Artois kept up with the emperor, according to the king's own confession, negotiations which had culminated in a secret convention. The sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, and Spain, and even the aristocratic rulers of Switzerland, bound them-

selves to place 100,000 men on the frontiers of the kingdom (May, 1791). This convention had determined the flight of the king (June 20). The National Assembly, moved by apprehension rather than certain knowledge, had replied by voting a levy of 300,000 national guards for the defense of the territory.

At that time, the various wars in which the Northern powers were engaged, the Swedes against the Russians, the Russians against the Ottomans, the Ottomans against the Austrians, the Austrians against the Belgians, were nearing their end. Prussia had recovered from the anxiety which all those armaments in her vicinity had excited. Austria finally put down the insurrection of the Belgians, though the hatred of foreign domination survived. The peace of Sistova with the Ottomans left the Austrian emperor free to act. He and the king of Prussia had an interview at Pilnitz, where a plan was drawn up for the invasion of France and the restoration of Louis XVI. The famous declaration of Pilnitz was made on August 27, 1791. The Legislative Assembly assumed a haughty tone with these monarchs. "If the princes of Germany continue to favor the preparations directed against the French, the French will carry among them, not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what results may follow this awakening of the nations." Louis XVI transmitted to the Powers a request for the withdrawal of their troops from the French frontiers. They maintained "the legality of the league of the sovereigns, united for the security and the honor of their crowns." The king of Sweden, Gustavus III, offered to put himself at the head of a sort of royal crusade against the revolutionists.

Thus between the two principles the struggle which had arisen, first at Versailles and then at Paris, between the king and the Assembly, after the defeat of absolutism in France, was about to be continued on the frontier between France and Europe. The princes who, like the French kings, had seized absolute power, were unwilling to abandon it. They entered into a coalition "for the safety of their crowns" against the political reform which the States General had inaugurated and which

they regarded as the common enemy. Thus they were about to enter upon that frightful war of twenty-three years' duration, which for them, except at the very end, was only one long series of disasters, but which excited passion as well as heroism, and covered France equally with blood and glory.

The Commune of Paris. The Days of June 20 and August 10, 1792. The Massacres of September.—The first decrees of the Assembly, after the declaration of Pilnitz, dealt a blow at the emigrants and the "nonjuring" priests who, by their refusal to take the civic oath, had become sources of trouble in La Vendée and Brittany. At first, the king was unwilling to approve those decrees. The declaration of war, which he made against Austria on April 20, 1792, was not sufficient to dissipate the fear of secret negotiations on the part of the court with the enemy. The rout of the French troops at the engagement of Quiévrain caused the cry of treason to be raised. The constitutional party, which was friendly to the king and had at first predominated in the Assembly, could not control the municipal council of Paris. A Girondist, Piéton, was appointed mayor in preference to La Fayette. From that time forth the most violent propositions against royalty originated at the city hall. They were repeated and still further exaggerated in the famous clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. They thence spread among the people by the thousand voices of the press and especially by the journal of Marat, who was beginning his sanguinary dictatorship. The masses did not long resist such appeals, which seemed justified by the threats from abroad and by the inadequate measures taken for defense of the territory. On June 20 the Tuileries were invaded. The king, insulted to his face, was constrained to put on the red cap. In vain did La Fayette demand reparation for this violation of the royal dwelling. He himself was proscribed two months later and forced to quit his army and France. He had been the last hope of the constitutional party. His flight announced the triumph of the Republicans.

The Duke of Brunswick invaded France. His insolent manifesto (July 25), threatening death to every armed

inhabitant who should be captured, and the declaration of the Assembly that the country was in danger, fanned still further the popular excitement. France responded to the patriotic appeal of Paris. But with cries of hatred for foreigners were mingled denunciations of the court, the secret ally of the enemy. On August 10 volunteers from Marseilles and Brittany, the people of the faubourgs and many companies of the national guard attacked the Tuileries and massacred its defenders. The king took refuge in the midst of the Assembly, which declared him suspended from his functions and imprisoned him and all the royal family in the Temple. Four thousand persons perished in the tumult.

As the constitution had been repudiated, a convention was summoned to draw up a new one. Before it assembled, and when by its approaching end the Legislative Assembly had finally lost its little remaining authority, a great crime startled France. The prisons of Paris were forced between the second and the fifth of September and 966 prisoners were butchered. Danton had uttered these sinister words: "We must terrify the royalists. Audacity! Audacity! and still more audacity!" A small body of assassins, supported by the Commune, had committed this crime, which the Assembly and the frightened burghers allowed to be perpetrated and which to the grief and shame of France was to be repeated.

Invasion of France. Battle of Valmy.—However, hostilities had begun. The moment had been well chosen by the Powers. All their wars in the North and the East were finished. England herself had just imposed peace upon Tippoo Sahib in India, and had acquired half his states. France was menaced on three sides: on the north by the Austrians; on the Moselle by the Prussians, and in the direction of the Alps by the king of Sardinia. The rawness of the troops and the mutual distrust between officers and soldiers in the army of the North, at first occasioned some disorders, which were speedily repaired by the capture of several cities. Savoy and Nice were conquered. The Prussians, who had entered Champagne, were defeated by Dumouriez at the important

battle of Valmy, September 20, 1792, and driven back upon the Rhine. Custine, assuming the offensive, seized Spires, Worms, and Mayence, whose inhabitants regarded his soldiers rather as liberators than as enemies. The attention and forces of Prussia had been again directed towards Poland. She desired to finish her work of spoliation in that unhappy country rather than undertake the dangerous but chivalrous task of freeing the queen of France. The Austrians, more interested in the defense of a princess of their blood, inaugurated a savage war at Lille. Instead of attacking the defenses, they bombarded the city and in six days burned 450 houses. Their cruelty was useless. They were forced to raise the siege, while, with the army of Valmy, Dumouriez won (November 6) the battle of Jemmapes, which placed the Netherlands in his power.

The Convention (1792-1795). Proclamation of the French Republic, September 21, 1792. Death of Louis XVI.—At its first sitting the Convention abolished royalty and proclaimed the Republic. On December 3 it decided that Louis XVI must be brought to trial. This decision was contrary to the Constitution, which declared the king inviolable and subject to no other penalty than deposition.

Louis was condemned in advance. The venerable Malesherbes solicited and obtained the honor of defending his former master. A young lawyer, Desèze, was the spokesman. "I seek in you judges," he said, "and I behold only accusers." He spoke the truth. The situation was desperate. England was threatening. The Austrians were about to make the greatest efforts and a coalition of all Europe was impending. "Let us throw them the head of a king as a challenge!" exclaimed Danton. Louis ascended the scaffold on January 21, 1793. Men had believed that the fall of that royal head would create an impassable abyss between old France and new France. It was the monarchy rather than the individual which they beheaded. Carnot wept on signing the death warrant of Louis. Thus the perverted doctrine of the common welfare added another crime to history. Again

men had forgotten that the common weal springs from great hearts, not from the executioner.

The Reign of Terror.—At the news of the death of Louis XVI the still hesitating powers declared war against France. All the French were threatened and civil war burst out in La Vendée and Brittany. The Constitution everywhere held its own. Carnot organized fourteen armies. A revolutionary tribunal was created which pronounced judgment without appeal and punished with death a word, a regret, or even the mere name which a man bore (March 10, 1793). The desertion of Dumouriez, who forsook his army and escaped to the Austrian camp (April 4, 1793), increased the alarm and caused revolutionary measures to be multiplied. In order that none of those who were called traitors might escape, the Convention abrogated the inviolability of its members. It even resigned a part of its prerogatives by creating in its bosom a Committee of Public Safety, which was invested with the executive power. In fact suspicion was rife everywhere. Robespierre firmly believed that the Girondists wished to dismember France and surrender it to foreigners. The Girondists thought that Marat, Robespierre, and Danton wished to make the Duke of Orleans king, then to assassinate him and found a triumvirate from which Danton would expel his two colleagues and reign alone. Each with conviction attributed to his adversaries the most absurd plans. From distrust arose panic, that terrible councilor, and the axe hung suspended above and striking upon all heads. This system is called The Terror. The executioners were dominated by it as much as were the victims and were in consequence still more merciless.

The party of the Mountain, whose leaders were Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, caused a formal accusation to be passed against thirty-one Girondists (June 2), many of whom had escaped and were rousing the departments to insurrection. Then Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and most of the cities of the south declared against the Convention. Toulon with the whole Mediterranean fleet was delivered over to the English. Condé and Valenciennes fell into the hands of the enemy.

Mayence, then occupied by French troops, capitulated. The enemy invaded both the northern and southern frontiers. At the same time the insurgents in La Vendée were everywhere victorious and another enemy, a frightful famine, was added to the general disorder.

The cause of the Revolution, defended by less than thirty departments, seemed lost. The Convention saved it by displaying a savage energy. Merlin drew up the law concerning suspected persons, which cast more than 300,000 persons into prison. Barrère declared in the name of the Committee of Public Safety: "The Republic is now only an immense besieged city. France must henceforth be only one vast camp. All ages are summoned by the fatherland to defend liberty. The young men will fight. The married men will forge arms. The women will make clothes and tents for the soldiers. The children will turn old linen into lint. The aged will have themselves carried to the public squares to excite courage." Twelve hundred thousand men were raised. Bordeaux and Lyons returned to their duty. Bonaparte, then an artillery captain, retook Toulon. The Vendeans were driven from the gates of Nantes, and Jourdan, who commanded the principal army, checked the allies.

All these achievements were not accomplished without terrible intestine commotions. The nobles and priests, proscribed as suspects, perished in crowds upon the scaffolds which were erected in all the towns. Carrier, Fréron, Collot-d'Herbois, Couthon, Fouché, and Barras were merciless. The assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, who thought that by killing him she was killing the Terror (July 13), rendered it more implacable. Queen Marie Antoinette, her sister Madame Elizabeth, Bailly, the Girondist leaders, the Duke of Orleans, General Custine, Madame Roland, Lavoisier, Malesherbes, and a thousand other illustrious heads fell. Then the party of the Mountain fell upon one another. Robespierre and Saint Just, supported by the powerful society of the Jacobins, first proscribed the hideous partisans of the anarchist Hébert and then Camille Desmoulins and Danton, who had suggested clemency.

The Ninth of Thermidor, or July 27, 1794.—Not yet could peace reign among the remnants of the Mountain. Robespierre was threatening many of the fiercest leaders and several members of the Committee whose dictatorship he wished to destroy for his own advantage. Among them were Fouché, Tallien, Carrier, Billaud-Varennes, Collet-d'Herbois, Vadier, and Amar. On the ninth of Thermidor these men succeeded in decreeing a formal act of accusation against Robespierre, Couthon, Saint Just, and two other representatives, Lebas and the younger Robespierre, who demanded the right to share their fate. One hundred of Robespierre's followers perished with him. Two days earlier, this revolution would have saved the young and noble André Chénier.

Several of the men who had overthrown Robespierre had themselves been extreme partisans of the Terror. But such was the force of public opinion that they were compelled to represent themselves as favorable to moderation. Thus the fall of Robespierre became the signal for a reaction which, despite some frightful excesses, nevertheless allowed France to take breath. The guillotine ceased to be the means of government. Though the parties still continued for a long time to proscribe each other, the people at least no longer were afforded the hideous spectacle of thirty or forty heads every day falling under the knife.

Glorious Campaigns of 1793-1795.—After the death of Louis XVI the coalition of Austria, Prussia, and Piedmont was joined by England, who readily improved the opportunity to deprive France of her commerce and her colonies. Spain and Naples through family reasons, Holland and Portugal through obedience to England, and the German Empire under the pressure of its two leading states, had also entered it. This was to declare almost universal war against France. Distance for a time prevented Russia from taking part. Denmark and Sweden resolutely maintained neutrality.

Fortunately for France, Austria and Prussia were mainly occupied by Polish affairs and the invading armies frittered their strength away in sieges. Instead of fighting for principles, each hostile country hoped to

aggrandize itself at the expense of France. Thus the English wished to seize or destroy the French posts in Flanders. The Austrians desired the French fortresses on the Scheldt. The Prussians counted upon seizing Alsace and the Spaniards aimed at Roussillon. But while the allies wasted three months before Condé, Valenciennes, and Mayence, and another month in preparation for the siege of Dunkirk, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, and Landau, the French volunteers were getting into shape, their armies were being organized, and their generals were gaining experience without losing their dash. At the end of August, 1793, the situation of France, attacked at every frontier and torn by civil war, seemed desperate. By the end of December she was everywhere victorious. Houchard had routed the English at Hondschoote, Jourdan had defeated the Austrians at Wattignies, Bonaparte had recaptured Toulon, and Hoche had carried the lines of Wissemburg. Moreover the tedious Vendean war was drawing to a close.

A few months afterwards the victory of Fleury gave France the Netherlands. The Spaniards were driven back beyond the Pyrenees, the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, the imperialists and the Prussians beyond the Rhine, and during the winter Pichegru fought his way into Holland. These reverses induced Spain and Prussia to abandon the coalition. Spain, at the mercy of a shameless court, was appalled at the sound of arms. Prussia needed repose in order to assimilate Poland, which had been finally dismembered.

England, Austria, Sardinia, and the South German states remained in line. Russia entered their league and sent her vessels to assist England in starving the French coasts and in building an immense British colonial empire. The subsidies from the English aristocracy fed the war and prevented defections of the allies. While men aimlessly cut one another's throats on the Rhine, the English fleets scoured the seas and seized the vessels and trading posts of France and of her ally, Holland.

On land the young volunteers had quickly learned how to fight the veterans of Frederick II. But maritime war demands other tactics and long practice. All the

THE ASSASSINATION OF MARAT BY CHARLOTTE CORDAY, JULY 13 1793

From the Painting by J. Weerts

brilliant naval staff which had combated England in the American Revolutionary War had emigrated. The French fleets had no sea-captains and were always worsted in sea-fight. In 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, formerly captain of a merchantman, with twenty-six vessels manned by peasants attacked an English fleet of thirty-eight sail, in order to protect the disembarkation of an immense convoy of grain. The convoy passed, a part of France was saved from famine, but the French fleet lost seven ships. One of them, *Le Vengeur,* rather than strike its flag, went to the bottom, its crew singing the Marseillaise. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and even Corsica, which could not be defended, were seized by the English.

Constitution of the Year III. The Thirteenth of Vendemiaire, or October 5, 1795.—But the Convention, issuing victorious from the tumults which followed the overthrow of Robespierre, repealed the democratic Constitution of 1793, which had not yet been put in execution, and intrusted the legislative power to two councils, the Five Hundred and the Ancients. It confided the executive power to a Directory of five members, one of whom was to be changed each year. At first the Convention had centralized everything. Now everything was divided. The legislative power was to have two heads, which is not too many for good counsel, but the executive power was to have five, which is unfavorable to action. Thus they hoped to escape dictatorship and to create a moderate republic. The result was a republic feeble and doomed to anarchy. The local assemblies accepted the Constitution, but disorders broke out in Paris. The royalists, who had so often suffered from sedition, committed the error of employing it in their turn. They carried with them many companies of the national guard, who marched in arms upon the Convention. Barras, whom the Assembly had appointed general-in-chief, charged Napoleon Bonaparte with its defense. That fifth of October began the successes and assured the triumph of the young officer, whose astute management overcame the superiority of numbers. Three weeks later the Convention declared its mission at an end (October 26).

In the midst of civil commotions and foreign victories, the Convention had pursued its political and social reforms. In order to strengthen the unity of France it decreed national education. It founded the Normal School, several colleges, primary and veterinary schools, schools of law and medicine, the Conservatory of Music, the Institute, and the Museum of Natural History. It also established unity of weights and measures by the metrical system. By the sale of national property it enabled many to become proprietors. By the creation of the public ledger, it founded the state credit. By the invention of the aërial telegraph the orders of the central government could be transmitted rapidly to the very frontiers, and establishment of museums revived taste for the arts. The Convention wished to have the infirm and foundlings brought together and cared for by the country. The last act of these terrible legislators was a decree that the death penalty should be abolished after the general pacification.

The Directory (1795-1799).—Before it dissolved the Convention decreed that two-thirds of the members of the Council of the Ancients and of the Council of the Five Hundred, should be chosen from the members of the Convention. Thus the latter formed the majority in the Council. They elected as directors Laréveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, Rewbell, Letourneur, and Barras. These five directors established themselves in the palace of the Luxembourg. The situation was difficult. The local elective councils, which were to administer the departments, the cantons, and the communes, were doing nothing or doing it badly. This paralysis of authority was compromising all the interests of the country. The treasury was empty. The paper currency was completely discredited. Commerce and industries no longer existed. The armies lacked provisions, clothing, and even ammunition. But three such years of war had developed soldiers and generals. Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine and Jourdan that of Sambre-et-Meuse. Hoche kept watch over the coasts of the ocean to defend them against the English and to pacify Brittany and La Vendée. And in conclusion, he who was destined to

eclipse them all, Bonaparte, then twenty-seven years of age, had just won on October 5 the command of the Army of the Interior, which he soon afterwards exchanged for that of the Army of Italy.

Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).—On placing himself at their head, he found his troops pent up in the Alps, where they were struggling painfully with the Sardinian troops, while the Austrians were threatening Genoa and marching on the Var. With the eye of genius Bonaparte chose his field of battle. Instead of wearing out his forces amid sterile rocks where no great blows could be struck, he flanked the Alps, whose passage he might have forced. By this skillful maneuver he placed himself between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, cut them in pieces, defeated them in succession, drove the former into the Apennines and the latter back upon their capital, and thrust the sword into the loins of the Sardinian army until it laid down its arms. Thus delivered from one enemy, he turned upon the other.

In vain did the Austrian Beaulieu, alarmed by his defeats at Montenotte (April 11), Millesimo (April 14), Dego (April 15), and Mondovi (April 22), retreat with utmost speed. Bonaparte followed him, overtook him, and crushed him. At Lodi the Austrians tried to stop him. The French fought their way across the river over a narrow bridge and won a magnificent victory. Beaulieu was succeeded by Wurmser, Austria's best general, with a larger and more veteran army. It disappeared like the first at Lonato and Castiglione (August 3 and 5), and Bassano (September 8). Alvinzi, who replaced Wurmser, was routed at Arcola (November, 1796) and at Rivoli (January, 1797). The Archduke Charles succeeded no better. All the armies and the generals of Austria dashed themselves in vain against less than 40,000 men led by a general eight and twenty years of age. On the flag which the Directory presented to the Army of Italy, were inscribed these words: "It has taken one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, captured seventy flags, five hundred and fifty siege guns, six hundred field guns, five pontoon equipages, nine ves-

sels, twelve frigates, twelve corvettes, eighteen galleys, has given liberty to the peoples of northern Italy, sent to Paris the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albani, Caracci, and Raphael, gained eighteen pitched battles, and fought sixty-seven combats."

While these marvelous campaigns of Italy were going on, Jourdan had allowed himself to be beaten by the Archduke Charles at Würzburg, and Moreau, left unguarded, had found himself obliged to retreat into Alsace. His retreat was as glorious as a victory; for he took forty days to march a hundred leagues without allowing himself to be attacked. Moreover, the Army of Italy had won for France as a boundary that great river which for nearly a thousand years had separated Gaul and Germany. The treaty of Campo Formio, signed by Bonaparte (October 17, 1797), restored to France the Rhine as her frontier. Beyond the Alps she possessed a devoted ally in the new Cisalpine republic founded in Lombardy.

Egyptian Expedition (1798-1799). **Second Coalition** (1798).—Austria had laid down her arms; but the English, unassailable in their island, could not consent to allow France so many conquests. Therefore the war with them continued. To strike them to the heart by destroying their commerce, the Directory dispatched to Egypt an expedition commanded by Bonaparte. From the banks of the Nile he hoped to reach England in India and overthrow her empire there. At the battles of the Pyramids and Mount Tabor, he scattered the Mamelukes and the Turks before him. But the loss of the French fleet at Aboukir had deprived him of siege guns and caused his siege of Saint Jean d'Acre to fail. After that disaster he could accomplish nothing important by remaining in Egypt. Destroying another Turkish army at Aboukir, he quitted his conquest and returned to France.

During his absence the weakness of the Directory had permitted all the fruits of the peace of Campo Formio to be lost. The spectacle of French internal disorganization and the absence of Bonaparte with the best French

army, which seemed lost in the sands of Egypt, induced the continental Powers to lend an ear to the persuasions of Pitt. As early as 1798 that great and hostile minister began to form a second coalition against France. It was composed of Russia, where Paul I had just succeeded to Catherine II, of that part of Germany which was under Austrian influence, of the emperor, who could not console himself for having lost Milan, of Naples, Piedmont, and Turkey. The alliance of the latter power with France, after lasting three centuries, had been ruptured by the expedition to Egypt. The Barbary States offered their assistance against the nation which seemed to have become the foe of the Crescent.

France, without either money or commerce, no longer borne on by the patriotic impulse of '93 and not yet possessing the military enthusiasm and strong organization of the empire, found herself exposed to the most serious dangers. Still the first operations were fortunate; Joubert drove the king of Sardinia from Turin, and Championnet proclaimed at Naples the Parthenopeian Republic. But the coalition had 360,000 soldiers against 170,000 Frenchmen. An Anglo-Russian army landed in Holland. The Archduke Charles vanquished Jourdan at Stockach, and laid siege to Kehl, opposite Strasburg. Schérer at Magnano, Macdonald at Trebia, and Joubert at Novi lost Italy, which was invaded by 100,000 Austro-Russians. The victory of Masséna at Zurich and that of Brune at Bergen saved France from invasion.

Internal Anarchy. The Eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799.—At home the struggle between parties was beginning again with fury, but fortunately with less bloodshed. After the overthrow of Robespierre the Revolution seemed almost desirous of retracing its steps. The emigrants returned in crowds and the royalists showed themselves everywhere. The condemnation of several hot-headed republicans, who preached the abolition of property, and the success of the " whites " in the elections, thereby giving the monarchists the majority in the councils, increased their hopes. The pretender, Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, believed that he was

on the point of being recalled and was already formulating his conditions.

To the parliamentary coup d'état which was preparing, the Directory retorted by a coup d'état of the government and the army. It proscribed two of its members: Carnot, who was unwilling to employ violence against the royalists, and Barthélemy, who was royalist at heart. It sentenced fifty-three members of the two Councils to deportation. Among them were Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, Boissy-d'Anglas, Portalis, and Camille Jordan (September 4, 1797). On May 11, 1798, there was another coup d'état, but this time it was directed against the deputies, called "patriots," whose elections were annulled. The legislative body, thus attacked by the Directory, struck back on June 18, 1799, and three directors were forced to resign. In the Councils, at Paris, in the armies, men talked openly of overthrowing the Constitution, which by dividing the executive power compelled it to be by turns weak or violent, but never strong or apparently durable.

Thus weary of the anarchy in which a feeble and undignified government let her exist, France accepted Bonaparte as her leader on his return from the East with the prestige of fresh victories. Sieyès, one of the directors, who wished a new constitution which he had long been meditating to be accepted, thought he had found in the general a useful tool. Bonaparte did not deprive him of his illusions, but accomplished the military revolution of the eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799, which resulted in the fall of the Directory and the creation of the Consulate.

The eighteenth of Brumaire was another national day crowned by an act of violence. Royalists and republicans, generals and magistrates, priests and laymen, had employed alternately during the last ten years conspiracies or weapons to modify or overthrow the law.

Another Constitution. The Consulate.—In order to strengthen the executive power the new chiefs of the state were reduced from five to three, and their functions were prolonged for ten years. The three consuls were Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos.

From the first Sieyès recognized that he had given himself a master. Bonaparte rejected his plans and had a Constitution adopted, known as that of the year VIII, which placed in his hands under the title of First Consul the most important prerogatives of authority. The two associate consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, had only the right of consultation.

According to the new Constitution, the laws, prepared on the order of the consuls by the council of state, were discussed by the Tribunate and adopted or rejected by the legislature. The Tribunate expressed its opinions, which the government heeded or not as it pleased, concerning existing or proposed laws, abuses to be corrected, and improvements to be introduced. When after examination by the tribunes a proposed law was submitted to the legislative body, it was discussed by three speakers from the Tribunate and by three Councilors of state. The members of the legislative body had no right to participate in the debate. They voted in silence.

The Senate, composed of eighty members appointed for life, was charged with the maintenance of the Constitution, the judgment of all acts contrary to the organic law, and the nomination from the national list of all members of the Tribunate and of the legislature. All Frenchmen twenty-one years of age and inscribed on the public registers were electors. The electors of each communal district chose a tenth of their number to draw up from among themselves a list of communal notables, and from this list the First Consul selected the public functionaries of each district. The notables placed on the communal list named a tenth of their number to form the departmental list, and from this the First Consul selected the functionaries of the department. The persons named on the departmental list drew up the national list, which included one-tenth of their number, and from which the national functionaries were chosen. Also from this third list of notables the Senate was to name the members of the Tribunate and the legislative body. Thus the assemblies which discussed and passed the laws were the result of four successive elections. This Constitution was submitted to a plebi-

scite or popular vote. There were cast 3,011,007 votes in favor of its adoption and 1562 against it.

Bonaparte was known as a great general. He showed himself a still greater administrator. His first care was to reëstablish order. He himself proclaimed oblivion of the past and endeavored to reconcile all parties. He declared the former nobles eligible to public office, recalled the later exiles, reopened the churches, and permitted the emigrants to return. The country districts were cleared of bandits. In order to found an administration which should be at once firm and enlightened, he constituted the departments after the pattern of the state itself. The departments had been administered by elective directories over which the central power had little influence, and which worked badly or not at all. He replaced them by a Prefect who depended directly upon the Minister of the Interior and he concentrated all the executive authority in the hands of that official. At his side he placed the Council of the Prefecture, a sort of departmental council of state, and the General Council, a sort of legislature. The sub-prefect had also his District Council. The mayor of each commune had a Municipal Council. Each district or sub-prefecture had a civil tribunal and for the finances a special receiver. Each department had a criminal tribunal and a receiver-general. Twenty-seven appellate tribunals were instituted over the land. A Court of Cassation or Supreme Court of Appeal maintained the uniformity of jurisprudence. A commission, composed of Portalis, Tronchet, Rigot de Préameneu, and de Malleville and often presided over by Bonaparte himself, prepared the civil code, which was discussed by the council of state, and which the legislative body, after full examination by the great judicial bodies and the Tribunate, adopted in 1804. One of the most useful creations of this period was the Bank of France, which has rendered great services to the country in many times of difficulty.

Marengo. Peace of Lunéville and of Amiens.—The royalists, disappointed in their hopes, raised the standard of insurrection in the west. By energetic measures Bonaparte stifled this new civil war. On the fron-

tiers, especially in the direction of Italy, serious dangers menaced the Republic. It seemed like a repetition of the situation of 1796. Instead of flanking the Alps, as on the former occasion, Bonaparte crossed them by the Pass of St. Bernard and fell upon the rear guard of Melas, who, master of Genoa, was threatening to cross the Var. By the single battle of Marengo he reconquered Italy (June 14, 1800). This dazzling success and the victory of Moreau at Hohenlinden forced Austria to sign the peace of Lunéville (February 9, 1801).

England alone, still governed by Pitt the mortal enemy of France, obstinately persisted in war. But men's eyes were opening. They began to see why that one Power, which gained by the war in which all the other Powers were the losers, refused to lay down arms. The ideas, which twenty years earlier had armed against England the northern Powers, again made their appearance in the councils of the kings. The Tsar, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, whose commerce the English were molesting, renewed the League of the Neutrals (December, 1800). England replied by placing an embargo in her ports on the vessels of the allied states, and Nelson forcing the passage of the Sund threatened Copenhagen with bombardment. This audacious act and the assassination of Paul I broke up the League of the Neutrals. The new Tsar, Alexander I, renounced the policy of his father, and France found herself left to defend the liberty of the seas alone. The capitulation of Malta after a blockade of twenty-six months and the evacuation of Egypt by the French army seemed to justify the persistence of England; but she was staggering under a debt of over $2,000,000,000, enormous even for her. The misery of her laboring classes produced bloody riots. For a long time the Bank of London had paid out no coin. Moreover the French marine was springing into new life. At Boulogne immense preparations were under way for an invasion of England. Just as the peace of Lunéville was signed Pitt fell from power. A few months later the new ministry concluded with France the preliminaries of the peace which was signed at Amiens, March 25, 1802. The acquisitions of France

and the republics which she had founded were recognized. England restored the French colonies, gave back Malta to the Knights, and the Cape to the Dutch. She retained only the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and Ceylon, which completed her establishment in India. Peace was reëstablished on all the continents and on all the seas. The coalition of the kings was vanquished!

GREATNESS OF FRANCE

(1802-1811)

The Consulate for Life.—The treaty of Amiens carried the glory of Bonaparte to the zenith. For the second time he had given peace to France. Egypt was indeed lost and an expedition, intended to make the blacks of San Domingo recognize the authority of France, was doomed to failure. But those distant misfortunes hardly awakened an echo at home. They were forgotten as men beheld parties calmed and order reviving everywhere under the firm, skillful hand of the First Consul.

He renewed the powerful impulse imparted by Colbert to manufactures. Commerce was encouraged, the finances were reorganized, the roads and ports repaired, the arsenals stocked. At Paris he threw three bridges across the Seine. Between the valleys of the Seine and the Oise he dug the canal of Saint Quentin. Between France and Italy he opened the magnificent road of the Simplon, and founded hospices on the summits of the Alps. The civil code was being discussed under his supervision, and he was already elaborating the project of complete organization of national education. A marvelous activity and an unprecedented ability to labor made him see everything, understand everything, do everything. Arts and letters received from him precious encouragement. For the purpose of rewarding civil and military services, talent and courage, he instituted the Order of the Legion of Honor, a glorious system of social distinction which the spirit of equality could accept. A

stranger to the hatreds of the past ten years, he welcomed the exiles, recalled the priests, and signed the Concordat with the Pope. He tried to efface petty animosities and to form only one great party, that of France. Finally, while he harnessed the Revolution to his chariot, he preserved its principles in his civil code and thereby rendered it imperishable.

But he could not disarm all his enemies. Every day fresh conspiracies were formed against his life. The infernal machine of the Rue Saint Nicaise came near destroying his life. In order, as he himself said, to make his enemies tremble even in London, he caused the execution of Georges Cadoudal, who had come to Paris to assassinate him. He exiled Moreau and imprisoned Pichegru, who strangled himself in his cell. Seizing the Duke d'Enghien contrary to international law at the castle of Ettenheim in the margravate of Baden, he handed him over to a military commission, which condemned and executed him that same night in the moat of Vincennes (March 20, 1804).

On August 2, 1802, four months after the treaty of Amiens, he was appointed Consul for life. In order to bring institutions into harmony with its new powers, the Constitution was remodeled. The lists of notables were replaced by electoral colleges for life, and important changes were made to the advantage of the Senate. Invested with the constituent power, this body had the right of regulating by senatorial decrees whatever had not been provided for in fundamental laws, to suspend the jury, and to dissolve the legislature and the Tribunate. But organic senatorial decrees were to be previously discussed in a privy council, all of whose members were to be selected each time by the First Consul.

Bonaparte, Hereditary Emperor (May 18, 1804).—Admiration for a transcendent genius, gratitude for great services, and a crying need of order after so many agitations, caused these dangerous innovations to be accepted. A few members protested in the Tribunate. But the murmurs of Daunou, Lanjuinais, Chénier, Carnot, and Benjamin Constant, like the opposition of Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand, were lost in the splendor which

surrounded the new power. Finally the Senate invited the First Consul to rule the French Republic with the title of hereditary emperor as Napoleon I. The mighty master of France was unable to master himself and to restrain his ambition.

More than three and a half million voters declared in favor of the empire. Pope Pius VII himself came to Paris and crowned the new Charlemagne on December 2, 1804. To give the throne which had just been set up the brilliancy of the old monarchies and to unite under the same titles the men of the Revolution and those of the old régime, Napoleon created a new nobility of counts, dukes, and princes. He appointed eighteen titled Marshals: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefèvre, Pérignon, and Serrurier, with large endowments in money and lands. Again were seen officers of the court, its great dignitaries, its chamberlains, and even its pages.

Napoleon was president of the Italian Republic. Having become emperor in France, he became king of Italy (March 18, 1805). That fair country, enervated by a servitude of four or five centuries' duration and by divisions which dated from the fall of the Roman Empire, was then unable either to defend itself, or of itself to unite. If the hand of France were withdrawn, either Austria would seize it once more or it would fall back again into its eternal rivalries. "You have only local laws," said Napoleon to the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic; "you need general laws." That is to say, they were only municipalities, hostile to each other, and ought to become a state. The unity which Napoleon I wished to give the inhabitants by first making them French, Napoleon III afterwards assured them by leaving them Italians.

Beginning with 1803 the emperor was Mediator of the Helvetian Republic. He took advantage of the right conferred upon him by this title to give Switzerland a constitution which, by maintaining peace between the rival cantons, ultimately led the Swiss to form a real nation without destroying local patriotism. Six new

cantons, Argovie, Thurgovie, Saint Gall, Grisons, Vaud, and Tessin, were added to the thirteen old cantons, and all unjust privileges disappeared. After the proclamation of the empire, Napoleon made no change in his relations toward Switzerland, but took many Swiss regiments into his service.

Third Coalition. Austerlitz and the Treaty of Presburg (1805).—Pitt returned to the ministry on May 15, 1804. Thus the war party again obtained the upper hand. In fact England could not bring herself to evacuate Malta despite her word pledged at the treaty of Amiens, and without declaring war she seized 1200 French and Dutch ships. Napoleon replied to this provocation by invading Hanover, the patrimony of the English king, and by immediately setting on foot preparations to cross the Straits of Dover with an army. The American Fulton offered the means for crossing by the steamboat which he had constructed, but his proposals were refused. England was in danger. Nelson himself failed against the Boulogne flotilla which, should the tempest drive away the English vessels for a few days or should a calm render them motionless, was ready to transport 150,000 men on its thirteen hundred boats. Admiral Villeneuve with the Toulon fleet might have protected the passage, but he lacked the daring. Through fearing a defeat in the Channel, he suffered a terrible disaster a few months later on the coast of Spain at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).

England had warded off the peril by dint of gold. She subsidized a third coalition, which Sweden, Russia, Austria, and Naples entered. Prussia held back and awaited developments. The emperor was in the camp at Boulogne when he learned that 160,000 Austrians, preceding a Russian army, were advancing under Archduke Charles upon the Adige and under General Mack on the Rhine. He was compelled to postpone his invasion. Napoleon immediately broke up his camp at Boulogne, sent the grand army post haste to the Rhine, and, while Masséna held back the archduke's vanguard, flanked Mack, shut him up in Ulm, and forced his surrender (October 19). Two days later the destruction

of the French fleet at Trafalgar forced him to renounce the sea, where he could not cope with his enemy.

Still he controlled the land and was already planning the ruin of the English by closing the continent to them. On November 19, he entered Vienna, and on December 2, he won the great battle of Austerlitz over the emperors of Austria and Russia. The remnants of the Russian army returned to their country by forced marches. Austria at the treaty of Presburg ceded the Venetian states with Istria and Dalmatia, which Napoleon united to the kingdom of Italy. She also surrendered the Tyrol and Austrian Suabia to the Dukes of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden. The first two princes he made kings and the third a grand duke. Thus by the cession of Venice Austria lost all influence over Italy, and by that of the Tyrol all influence over Switzerland. The proposed cession of Hanover to the court of Berlin in exchange for Clèves and Neuchâtel, was designed to remove Prussia also from the French frontier.

The Confederation of the Rhine and the Vassal States of the Empire.—The emperor dreamed of inaugurating a new European system. He wished to be the Charlemagne of modern Europe. He had conceived a plan of empire which was not completed until after Tilsit. Still, we may present it now as a whole, so as to escape returning to it again. Resuming the idea which Mazarin had cherished of a league among the states of western Germany, he organized after Austerlitz the Confederation of the Rhine. The old Germanic empire was dissolved after a duration of ten centuries. Francis II, reduced to his hereditary domains, abdicated the title of Holy Roman Emperor to assume that of emperor of Austria. The 370 petty states, which shared among them the German soil and maintained permanent anarchy, were reduced to thirty or forty. Thereby the more powerful states were enlarged and some of their princes received from France the name and the dignity of kings. They were united under the protection of Napoleon into a federated state, from which the half-Slav states, Prussia and Austria, were excluded.

The new diet which sat at Frankfort was divided into